Language, Migration, and Identity

Neighborhood Talk in Indonesia

Zane Goebel

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Language, Migration, and Identity

While much scholarship has been devoted to the interplay between language, identity, and social relationships, we know less about how this plays out interactionally in diverse transient settings. Based on research in Indonesia, this book examines how talk plays an important role in mediating social relations in two urban spaces where linguistic and cultural diversity is the norm and where distinctions between newcomers and old-timers change regularly. How do people who do not share expectations about how they should behave build new expectations through participating in conversation? Starting from a view of language–society dynamics as enregisterment, Zane Goebel synthesizes a wide range of humanities scholarship with contemporary linguistic anthropology to explore how language is used in this contact setting to build and present identities, expectations, and social relations. It will be welcomed by researchers and students working in the fields of linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, the anthropology of migration, and Asian studies.

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Preface

During the twelve or so years that I have been working on this research I have built up many debts that I will probably never be able to repay. In this brief acknowledgment to the many people who have helped and supported me through the pleasure and pain of research, I offer my sincere thanks. There are many people who I would like to thank by name here and in particular the members of Wards 5 and 8 whose permission, patience, help, and friendship made this research possible. Of course, for reasons of anonymity, I cannot name them here and hence can only offer my sincere gratitude and thanks to these two wards as a whole. I also offer my deepest thanks to my research assistants, who were also members of these wards. Similarly, this research and this book would not have been possible without the support, patience and good humor offered by Eni and our two sons Jery and Marcel, and my mother, father, two brothers and in-laws, all of whom have regularly reminded me that there are other things to life than just sitting in front of a computer.

I am indebted to Peter Burns – my teacher, friend, and colleague – who first introduced me to Indonesia and Indonesian in 1989. I am also indebted to Andrew Lian, who first made me think about the nature of language. An even larger debt of gratitude is owed to Paul Black – also my teacher, friend and colleague – who provided early guidance in my research and writing efforts. Whilst in Indonesia I was also very fortunate to have colleagues who were interested in similar issues, and I am indebted to Pak Anhari, Pak Herujati, Pak Retmono, and Pak Sudaryanto for their many comments, suggestions, and support. More recently, I have been fortunate to have had the moral support needed for the ups and downs of academic life in general and writing in particular. Of particular importance are Joe Errington, Nancy Smith-Hefner, John Wolff, Pauline Savy, Margaret Florey, Evan Willis, Harry Aveling, Stuart Robson, George Quinn, and the late Masachiyo Amano.

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University, who made it possible for me to research in Semarang. I am also indebted to the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (LIPI), who provided the official permission to carry out this research. I would like especially to thank Ibu Krisbiwati, who apart from efficiently administering my project also offered her friendship and help to my family and to me throughout our stay.

The writing of this book would not have been possible were it not for the great research environment offered by the Graduate School of Letters at Nagoya University, Japan from 2007 until 2010, and by The Department of Anthropology, Archaeology and Sociology at James Cook University, where I was a visiting scholar on a number of occasions during my tenure in Japan. Much of this book builds on and refines my early work. Chapter 2 builds upon an early lecture and its development into a number of publications (Goebel, 2008a, 2008c). Chapter 2 has benefited greatly from the comments of Asif Agha, Hans-Michael Schlarb, Paul Manning and two anonymous reviewers. Ideas presented in Chapter 2 have also been shaped through correspondence with Barbara Johnstone about my use of the idea of enregisterment in another earlier paper based upon a different data set (Goebel, 2007). Similarly, the section on Indonesian-Chinese has benefited greatly from comments by Charles Coppel.

I have been thinking and writing about language use, social class, space and social organization for some time (Goebel, 2005, 2008d). I hope that the ideas I present in Chapter 3 make my argument much clearer. Chapters 5 and 6 build upon a number of conference papers and some written papers (Goebel, 2008c, In press, Under review). The first conference paper was presented as "Building community: Identity, interdiscursivity and language choice in everyday narrative" at the first International Symposium on the Languages of Java, held at Hotel Graha Santika, Semarang, Indonesia, on August 15 and 16 2007. The second conference paper was presented as "Constructing the stranger: Ideology, alternation, and difference in an Indonesian neighborhood" at the American Anthropological Association's 106th Annual Meeting at the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel, Washington DC between November 28 and December 2, 2007. The third paper, "Enregisterment, alternation, and difference: Insiders and outsiders in an Indonesian neighbourhood", was presented at the Global COE International Conference held on February 9 2008 at Nagoya University, Nagoya, Japan. Chapters 5 and 6 have benefited from the generous questions, comments, and encouragement offered by the audiences and panel members in all of these forums, including (but not limited to) Stuart Robson, Yacinta Kurniasih, Michael Ewing, Antonia Soriente, Shlomy Kattan, Jim Stanford, Lawrence Michael O'Toole, Michael Silverstein, Salikoko Mufwene, Kay O'Halloran, Cyndi Dunn, Debra Occhi, Tetyana Sayenko, Kuniyoshi Kataoka, Masachiyo Amano, Barbara Johnstone and two anonymous reviewers.

Some of the ideas on Indonesian-Chinese found in Chapters 2, 7 and 8 were originally presented as "A semiotics of race in urban Indonesia" at the 33rd Annual Congress of the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia held at the University of Sydney on July 4–6 2008. With the insights offered by the audience – especially Alan Jones – and then later by two reviewers, Lionel Wee and Monica Heller, this paper then developed into "Semiosis, interaction and ethnicity in urban Java" (Goebel, 2009). The major developments in Chapters 7 and 8 relate to how I have taken into account how language alternation figures in the processes of social identification discussed in these earlier works. Chapter 9 develops my earliest thinking on inter-ethnic talk in Indonesia (Goebel, 2002). In its rewritten form, this book has benefited greatly from the feedback and guidance offered by the two anonymous reviewers and by Helen Barton, Jill Lake, Jodie Barnes, and Sarah Green at the press, who have expertly guided me through the whole process. As always, all errors and omissions remain my sole responsibility.

Last but not least, I should note that one reviewer of this manuscript suggested a user's warning that this is not an easy book because of its use of complex terminology, data, and transcription formats. I can only hope that some good caffeine will ease the reader's burden.

Zane Goebel

Conventions

Orthographic conventions are as similar as possible to the standard Indonesian spelling system (Departemen Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan, 1993). In the text I use bold for technical terms and to highlight that their subsequent use follows this technical sense. I use the following transcription conventions, unless specified otherwise in the text.

plain font	Indonesian (I)
bold	*ngoko* Javanese (NJ)
bold italics	forms that can be classified as NJ or I
BOLD CAPS	*krámá* Javanese (KJ)
OUTLINED BOLD CAPS	*krámá inggil* Javanese
SMALL CAPS	English forms
double underline	indicates the repetition of words or utterances between adjacency pairs
wavy underline	indicates that the word or utterance was repeated in prior talk, although it may not always be in the immediately preceding turn
. between words	indicates a perceivable silence
brackets with a number (.4)	length of silence in tenths of a second
=	no perceivable pause between speaker turns
[ ]	words not expressed in the original but "understood" in the translation
{	start of overlapping talk
' after a word	final falling intonation
? after a word	final rising intonation
+ surrounding an utterance/word	raising of volume
# surrounding an utterance/word	lowering of volume
> at the start and end of an utterance	utterance spoken faster than previous one

< at the start and end of an utterance
% signs around talk
@ signs around talk

: within a word, or a series of ::: within a word
Brackets with three ?, i.e. (???)
Double quotes in the English gloss

utterance spoken slower than previous one
stylized nasal-type pronunciation
major rise in the volume of an utterance
represents a sound stretch; the more colons, the longer the sound stretch
word that could not be transcribed
reported talk

1 Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Indonesia is reported to be one of the most religiously, linguistically, and ethnically diverse regions of the world (e.g. Bertrand, 2003). Such diversity has attracted a lot of scholarly attention, especially from political scientists, historians, anthropologists and area specialists. For example, relationships between Javanese politicians from Jakarta and other Indonesian politicians from the outer islands has been an enduring topic of interest (e.g. Feith, 1962; Ricklefs, 1981; Sakai, 2002). Similarly, much scholarship has gone into relationships between bureaucrats from these geo-political spaces and discourses about those living in the outer islands (e.g. Hoshour, 1997; Lenhart, 1997; Schefold, 1998; Hoey, 2003), inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations (e.g. Bruner, E. M., 1974; Liddle, 1997; Hefner, 2001b; Sakai, 2002; Van Klinken, 2003; Bertrand, 2004), and social relations between Indonesian-Chinese and *pribumi*, or so called "indigenous Indonesians" (e.g. Coppel, 1983; Chua, 2004; Suryadinata, 2004b; Hoon, 2006; Purdey, 2006).

While many of these studies take into consideration post-structural arguments and social constructivist perspectives (e.g. Van Klinken, 2003; Purdey, 2006), their focus on interview, archival, and survey data usually doesn't allow us to explore how these social relationships form and dissolve though face-to-face talk. Indeed, with the exception of some very brief descriptions of actual inter-ethnic talk by Kartomihardjo (1981: 159, 186–7) and Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982: 66–8), no work has been done on this aspect of diversity in Indonesia. This book attempts to start to fill this gap by investigating how talk figures in mediating social relations in two diverse urban *Rukun Tetangga* (*RT*) "ward(s)" of Semarang, Indonesia, referred to henceforth as Ward 8 and Ward 5. I aim to provide a linguistic anthropological account of this diversity by exploring what factors contribute to or work against sustained contact with others in these wards, how such contact or lack thereof is talked about, whether and to what extent contact relates to interactional language use, how newcomers go about learning to interact in their new home, and how all of this relates to matters of identity.

In doing so, this book engages with a number of recurring and inter-related themes within humanities scholarship, including anti-essentialist approaches to notions of community and culture, and questions relating to how people from diverse backgrounds go about doing togetherness in settings where transience is increasingly the norm (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Baumann, 1996; Werbner, 1997; Wenger, 1998; Ang, 2003; Brettell, 2003; Vertovec, 2007). By taking a linguistic anthropological approach to migration I show how systems of trust (Giddens, 1984, 1990, 1999) or systems of expectations about behavior in public and private spaces (Goffman, 1967, 1974) develop in two ward contexts where diversity is the norm and where distinctions between who are newcomers and who are hosts continually change.

In this sense, this study differs from other studies of migration, migrants and language use in a number of ways. First of all it draws upon critiques of studies of migrants and migration (e.g. Baumann, 1996; Brettell, 2003; Poynting, Noble, Tabar, & Collins, 2004; Collins, Noble, Poynting, & Tabar, 2000), which highlight the diverse make-up of those who migrate rather than lumping them into particular "ethnic" groups whose existence thereof is partly a result of being the "other" in a so-called homogenous host community. Similarly, studies of migrant talk have largely focused upon interaction between migrants and hosts (e.g. Gumperz, 1982a; Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005a, 2005b; Campbell & Roberts, 2007). An often unintended consequence of such studies, along with those that look at intercultural talk more generally, is the essentialization of research participants into groups. These groups are often categorized as ethnic or racial and their ways of speaking are subsequently contrasted with an equally essentialized majority.

Drawing on the insights of those working at some of the intersections between sociology, anthropology, linguistics, media studies, cultural studies and education (e.g. Rampton, 1995b, 2006; Hall, 1996; Spitulnik, 1996; Wenger, 1998; Irvine, 2001; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004b; Bourdieu, 2006 [1998]; Dunn, 2006; Friedman, 2006; Hall, 2006 [1980]; Inoue, 2006; Wortham, 2006; Agha, 2007), my point of departure is one that sees identity as fluid and something that constantly emerges within a chain of communicative events involving discourses of sameness and difference. In particular, my thinking on "meaning-making" has been influenced by theoretical and methodological work on social practice and semiotics undertaken by Wenger (1998), Agha (2007) and Wortham (2006).

For example, Agha sees it as necessary to view interaction as a **semiotic encounter** within a larger system of constantly emerging **semiotic registers** (**SRs**). In such interactions communication is not a product of a face-to-face meeting, but rather "participants' mutual orientation to signs or messages" (Agha, 2007: 69). Such signs have histories, are indexically related to other signs (e.g. Bakhtin, 1981; Ochs, 1990; and the papers in Silverstein & Urban, 1996a) and are recontextualized (e.g. Bauman & Briggs, 1990) in each

subsequent **semiotic encounter** to make new meanings. Among other things, Wenger's work provides useful analytic categories, such as newcomer and old-timer, which from Chapter 4 onwards allow me more analytic purchase on notions such as migrant, ethnicity, and so on.

This approach also avoids making the assumption that difference in background will automatically lead to miscommunication (e.g. Ryoo, 2005; Higgins, 2007; Mori, 2007), while encouraging us to explore some of the socio-historical processes that enable social difference and sameness to be brought about in such interactions. That is to say, it allows us to move beyond single instances of situated interaction to look at their relationship to preceding and subsequent interactions, as well as a space to theorize and reflect upon the relationship of situated sign usage to sign usage in more perduring speech chains, such as those found in schooling systems, the mass media, census practices, political discourse, et cetera.

Just as importantly, for diverse multilingual settings such as the one studied here, this approach also offers a bridge between some of the dominant paradigms to code choice and codeswitching, such as identity-based approaches (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993), ethnographically informed approaches (e.g. Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Stroud, 1998) and interactional approaches (e.g. Gumperz, 1982a; Gafaranga, 2005; Li Wei, 2005). For example, work on **SRs** and **processes of social identification** provides both theory and methods for understanding why it is that reportedly non-Javanese migrants used Javanese in interactions with their primarily Javanese hosts instead of the expected Indonesian. In particular, it allows us to explore interdiscursive relationships between perduring signs – linguistic and non-linguistic – and their recontextualization (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). Such recontextualizations represent a type of learning in a language socialization sense (Ochs, 1986, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990; Wortham, 2006), as participants move from engaging in practices of **crossing** (Rampton, 1995a) to practices of **adequation** (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004b). In the next section I set out how I will treat each of the above issues in this book.

1.1 Layout of the book

Chapter 2 fleshes out work on **semiotic registers** (**SRs**), **enregisterment** and **processes of social identification** (e.g. Wortham, 2006; Agha, 2007). In doing so, I provide an introduction to the broader Indonesian context. In particular, I look at processes of **enregisterment** in Indonesia. I do this by exploring how colonial and post-colonial policy and practices relate to institutional representations of language use and how this has figured in the formulation of **SRs** linking language use to performable social categories of personhood and relationship.

I focus on three main sources of representation as they relate to the association of language to region and ethnicity, while pointing to the continuities

that exist between such representations. The first source of representations – which **enregister** or link **languages other than Indonesian** (**LOTI**) to region and ethnicity and Indonesian to nationalism, developmentalism and the ethnic other – are those found in colonial discourses and in later post-1950 political discourses. I then move on to school settings to argue that the representation of language within these settings also reproduces such **SRs**. Moving my focus to popular mass media, especially television serials, I point out further continuities in the representation of language–ethnicity links while also noting the existence of some representations which denaturalize such links. For example, portrayals of internal migrants show that they regularly engage in practices of **adequation** (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall, 2004a). That is, they situationally pursue sameness through the habitual use of linguistic tokens not normally associated with members of their ethnic group (e.g. Skapoulli, 2004; Sweetland, 2002).

Having explored how ethnicity has been associated with **LOTI**, in a sense contributing to the naturalization of ethnolinguistic categorization in Indonesia, I then move the discussion to focus on other ideologies of ethnicity in Indonesia as they relate to those of Chinese ancestry. I delineate Chinese ethnicity from other social constructions of region-based ethno-linguistic categorization by referring to them as representations of Chineseness. While this delineation is primarily done for ease of explication, within the time-frame I am working in, that is, pre-1999 Indonesia, discourses about ethnicity were mainly linked with region and language while Chineseness seemed to have been linked with ancestry and negative affect and deviance.

In Chapter 3 I begin my focus on the local setting in a way that allows us to take into consideration the conditions of production of talk. Drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1994) and Wenger (1998), I argue that government policy together with economic ability has figured in the emergence and reproduction of a number of **semiotic registers** that associate local spaces and practices with different social personas or categories of personhood within the Indonesian wards under discussion. In doing so, I point out that through routine engagement in the social practices of these wards – especially those associated with the upkeep, maintenance and well-being of the members of these wards – members and their interactions become part of the category of signs that make up emerging **semiotic registers** (**SRs**). These **SRs** also figure in the forming of **frames of expectation** (e.g. Goffman, 1974) about social conduct in such spaces. Among other things, such expectations enable participants to engage in meta-talk about sameness and difference as it relates to interaction, language usage, and membership status within these wards.

Drawing upon notions of **semiotic encounters**, **semiotic registers**, **enregisterment**, **communities of practice**, **crossing** and **adequation**, Chapter 4 focuses on ward members' linguistic repertoires. In doing so, I engage in discussions about language alternation, especially as they relate to matters of

language categorization, language choice and codeswitching. In defining my approach to language alternation, I also introduce the members of these wards. With recourse to work on the study of conversational narratives (e.g. Ochs & Capps, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2007), Chapter 5 examines **processes of social identification**. In doing so, I start to explore how perduring **SRs** might figure in such **processes of social identification**.

For example, I examine interdiscursive relationships between situated talk and perduring language–identity and language–activity relationships. In particular, I examine how participants recontextualize signs from perduring **SRs** and how they use collusion strategies (such as repetition) to position a non-present member as deviant. In doing so, I point to how the construction of this category of personhood relates to the construction of other categories of personhood, how such interactions simultaneously create local expectations for social conduct, and how all of this relates to emergence of a local **semiotic register**. I finish by asking the question whether and to what extent the interactions in this meeting might offer newcomers explicit lessons on social conduct.

In Chapter 6 I go on to explore whether and to what extent such lessons are actually learned by examining a newcomer's interactions in subsequent ward meetings. I focus on how one non-Javanese newcomer learns to use fragments of *ngoko* Javanese as part of a collusive public telling of a story about one neighbor's perceived inappropriate actions. The appropriation and recontextualization of these linguistic signs by this newcomer modifies the locally emerging **SR** described in Chapter 5. For example, this emerging **SR** now includes this newcomer within its category of signs. At the same time, such recontextualizations enable this newcomer to be seen as a member of this ward. Indeed, more generally in interviews that elicited meta-pragmatic commentaries, many of the newcomers and older residents of this ward noted the need to learn, or to appear to have learnt, some Javanese.

In concluding Chapter 6, I highlight how non-Javanese women of this ward frequently engage in the linguistic pursuit of sameness – that is, **adequation** (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004b) – through the heavy use of *ngoko* Javanese tokens in their interactions with other women of this ward who identify themselves as Javanese. In accounting for such **adequation** I point out its relationship to participants' **trajectories of socialization** (Wortham, 2005) and how this relates to my discussion in Chapter 3 about economic, spatial, demographic, religious and other factors. In addition, I point out that this practice seems to markedly contrast with perduring language ideologies about language–ethnicity relationships and about Indonesian as the language of inter-ethnic interaction.

These practices of **adequation** markedly contrast with the linguistic practices of the non-Javanese men of this ward, where Indonesian is commonly used in interactions with other men who report being Javanese. Chapters 7 and 8 look at such usage as part of my wider analysis of **processes of social identification**

in male ward meetings within Ward 8. In taking a similar approach to that taken in Chapters 5 and 6, I focus on how deviance becomes a local identity category associated with persons of Chinese ancestry over the course of these ward meetings and how this relates to local events and perduring **SRs**. (Unless otherwise indicated I use the term "Indonesian-Chinese" to refer to Indonesians of Chinese ancestry.) In exploring why linguistic form usage contrasts so much with that found in interactions among the women of this ward, I again focus on participants' **trajectories of socialization** and their relationship with economic, spatial and other factors. I conclude by noting that while such usage may be seen as gendered, the data I present in the following chapter suggests an alternative interpretation.

Chapter 9 moves us to interactions among the men of low-income Ward 5, where my focus becomes two types of language ideologies. The first relates to interaction amongst Javanese. In particular, I compare interactional practices with ideologies about asymmetrical sign exchange of the type found in school texts described in Chapter 2. I show that contrary to such language ideologies, categories of personhood relating to age and status do not figure in the linguistic sign exchanges found in interaction amongst the Javanese in Ward 5. These patterns of linguistic sign exchange mirror those found in Ward 8. In accounting for such differences, I argue that the nexus of a number of factors – including economic ability of participants, the resultant social organization in this ward, and daily social life – all help figure in the patterns of exchange I describe.

The second language ideology I examine relates to language use in inter-ethnic interactions, where the Indonesian constitution, language policy, language educators and school curriculum all seem to imagine that such interactions will be characterized by Indonesian usage. I argue that an unintended inflection of such practices – namely, Indonesian being seen as an index of the ethnic other – is a commonly held belief in this ward. At the same time, I show that ideologies about **LOTI** (in this case *ngoko* Javanese) and its indexical relationships with ethnicity seem to have been recontextualized to do intimacy identity work inter-ethnically through participants' engagement in the practice of **adequation**. In accounting for these practices, I point out that their genesis could be traced back to the economic ability of ward members and the resultant impact on patterns of social interaction described in Chapter 3. When these findings are compared with the patterns of social practices and language usage found among the men and women of Ward 8, we can head off simplistic conclusions that might have been invited through comparisons of linguistic sign usage amongst the men and women there. This is so because it appears that men in Ward 5 have similar patterns of linguistic sign usage to the women of Ward 8.

In the concluding chapter I make two main points. The first is that a comparative view of the frequent practice of **adequation** found in these wards allows us

to come to some more general conclusions about identities and talk in this transient setting. In particular, and in answer to the main question posed at the start of the book, I point out that in this transient setting identities as part of systems of expectations are negotiated across speech situations. While such identities may draw upon widely held beliefs about language–identity relationships, they are not determined by them. This sits in contrast to essentialist interpretations by pointing to the lack of any long-term fixed relationships between linguistic forms and identity, such as ethnicity. While such insights are not new to those working within a conversation analytic (CA) paradigm (e.g. Auer, 1995; Sebba & Wootton, 1998), a temporal approach allows us to explore whether, to what extent, and why certain identities solidify. Secondly, I highlight how Agha's (2007) and Wortham's (2006) work on **SRs** might be used to build bridges between identity-based, ethnographic and ethnomethodological approaches to language alternation.

1.2 Fieldwork in two wards

In the final part of this chapter I want to provide a brief account of the fieldwork setting and my fieldwork methods, both of which will be expanded as required in the following chapters. The data that I will be basing this book upon was gathered during two-and-a-half years of fieldwork in Ward 5 and Ward 8 between April 1996 and July 1998. During this time my spouse – herself an Indonesian – and I rented a house in Ward 8.

These two wards were located in the newly urbanizing fringes of the northern part of Semarang, the capital city of the province of Central Java (see Maps 1.1 and 1.2). They were located within fifty meters of each other and were part of a larger administrative unit called a *Rukun Warga* "neighborhood", which was made up of twelve wards. Diagram 1.1 shows this hierarchical relationship and how it relates to the central government (all place names are pseudonyms). Semarang is unique insofar as Indonesian-Chinese make up nearly 4.5 percent of the population (Suryadinata, Arifin, & Ananta, 2003: 164–5). It can also be characterized as a city with a high rate of in-migration, a history of strong support for communism, and a history of anti-Chinese violence, which occurred in 1966, 1971 and 1980 (Lerman, 1987: 62–98). As one would expect in a large provincial capital (with around 4 million inhabitants), the members of both these wards came from many regions within Indonesia and from diverse religious, educational, economic, occupational and experiential backgrounds.

In Ward 5, for example, many of the inhabitants were either from Semarang or from rural areas within Central Java. This is not to say that all ward members hailing from within Semarang or Central Java had similar experiences and language abilities. Indeed, much of my discussion from Chapter 2 onwards problematizes this issue of ethno-linguistic categorization. In contrast, most of

Map 1.1 The Indonesian Archipelago
Map adapted from Errington (1998b: xvii)

Map 1.2 East, Central, and West Java, Madura and Bali
Map adapted from Errington (1998b: xviii)

the members of Ward 8 were university-educated and had come from larger towns and cities within Indonesia. In terms of self-reports and reports by others, only three of the members from Ward 5 came from outside of Central Java, and of these, two had a spouse who was from Central Java. The remaining household was made up of a husband and wife who were both from Medan, Sumatra. In this respect Ward 8 was much more diverse, with nine of the

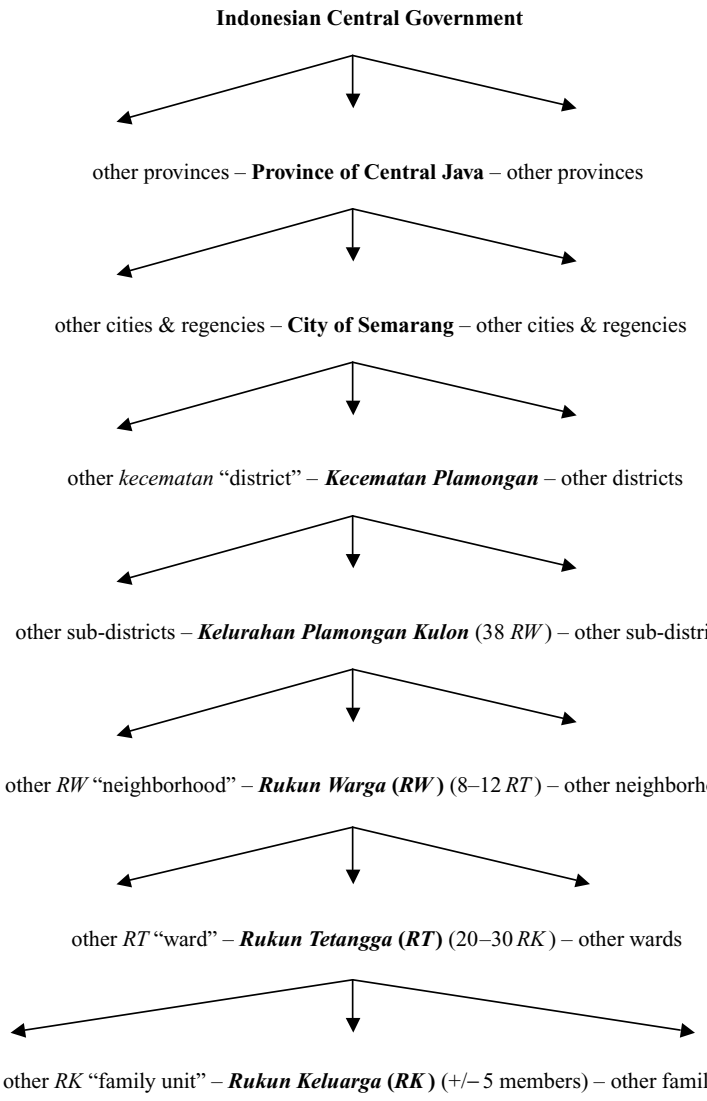

Diagram 1.1 Administrative hierarchy

twenty-three families having at least one spouse coming from outside of Central Java. Four families had both husband and wife coming from areas outside of Java proper.

Within these two wards there were also, of course, those who were of Chinese ancestry. For example, within Ward 5 there were two households where

one or both heads were identified as Indonesian-Chinese by other residents. Within Ward 8 the number fluctuated during the period of research, with two to three households identifying or being identified as having Chinese ancestry. Differences in geographical background also often meant difference in religious background. Coupled with differences in economic ability this often produced certain patterns of social interaction. For example, in Ward 8 those who had migrated from other areas of Indonesia often sought the company of friends or relatives who were part of the same church group or Islamic meeting group. This was expedited by car and motorcycle ownership among this ward. In comparison, members of Ward 5 rarely engaged in this sort of interaction, but did frequently socialize with their neighbors.

Generationally, Ward 5 also had a large number of males in their late teens and twenties in comparison to Ward 8, which had a much larger population of females in their late teens and early twenties. In terms of numbers, there were in fact only two females in this age cohort in Ward 5, while their male counterparts numbered over ten. Another major difference between these two wards was length of stay. In Ward 5, for example, twelve of the twenty-four families had lived there since its construction in 1988 and another ten had been living there since 1992. In Ward 8, on the other hand, only nine families had lived in Ward 8 since it was formed in 1988. The rest of the population were transient and the longest period that new inhabitants would stay was around two years, the average time and often minimal period for which a house could be leased in this neighborhood. This pattern of inhabitancy can also be linked with the occupations of the inhabitants and potential inhabitants of Ward 8. For example, many of the original population were relatively senior public servants, who had since been transferred to other provinces. Similarly, many of the newcomers were also senior public servants, who had been transferred from other provinces.

As hinted above, income levels also differed considerably between and within these two wards, ranging from between 100,000 rupiah to 4 million rupiah per month. In Australian dollars in 1996 – before the economic crisis of 1997–1998 – this translated to figures ranging between 55 and 2,200 dollars a month. In Ward 5 incomes were around 100,000 to 600,000 rupiah per month and members of the ward had occupations such as low-ranking public servants and military personnel, small traders, public transport drivers, chauffeurs, teachers, junior university lecturers, shop assistants, laborers, tailors and other entrepreneurs. In comparison, in Ward 8 family incomes ranged from 600,000 to around 4 million rupiah per month, with most having an income around 1 million rupiah per month. Members of this ward held relatively senior positions in public and private organizations (e.g. judges, public prosecutors, senior lecturers, senior bank employees, local parliamentary representatives, medium-sized traders/shop owners and service providers).

After obtaining informed consent, my research assistants and I observed and recorded the conversations of 88 of the 167 residents who lived in these wards, including 29 who reported being non-Javanese (15 men, 14 women) and 59 who reported being Javanese (30 men, 29 women). The types of settings that I and my research assistants participated in and observed included monthly ward meetings, weekly working bees, social functions and celebrations, religious gatherings, sporting events, neighbor to neighbor conversations, and so on.

Some sixty hours of conversations were recorded by mainly non-Javanese research assistants in interactions with their Javanese neighbors and peers. The reason that I originally chose mainly non-Javanese rather than Javanese research assistants was because they were more likely to be involved in interactions in what I naively thought was a primarily Javanese context. As I learned later, the Javanese in this ward were not a homogenous group, nor could they be spoken of as a long-term majority in Ward 8. Preference was given to recording naturally occurring group interactions – that is, those that would have occurred whether they were being recorded or not – for at least an hour.

These recordings were subsequently transcribed with the help of Indonesian research assistants and those who participated in these interactions. Part of this process involved classification of linguistic forms and interpreting language alternation, both of which were quite problematic for reasons I shall outline in Chapter 4. I was able to resolve – sometimes unhappily – most of these issues. This was done in part through recourse to Agha's (2007) and Wortham's (2006) work on **semiotic registers**, which I will introduce in the next chapter.

2 Long-term Processes of Enregisterment

2.0 Introduction

Within the humanities and social sciences the popular mass media, schooling, census bureaus and other institutions have been described as sites where stereotypes about language–identity relationships are developed or reproduced (e.g. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 2006 [1998]; Appadurai, 1996; Collins *et al.*, 2000; Hall, 2006 [1980]; Inoue, 2006; Miller, 2004; Meek, 2006). With recourse to work on **semiotic registers** (**SRs**) and **processes of social identification**, this chapter traces the development of such relationships in Indonesia. I do this by looking at how institutional representations of language use formulate **SRs** linking language use to performable social categories of personhood and relationship. As such, this chapter can be seen as providing an introduction to the broader context of language use in Indonesia. In particular, it provides an introduction to some of the widely circulating signs and the **SRs** of which they are a part.

More specifically, Section 2.1 draws upon work on the **enregisterment** of **SRs** (Agha, 2007) and **processes of social identification** (Wortham, 2006) to provide a theoretical base that is applicable to this and subsequent chapters. This discussion points to a need to see concepts such as identity and language as not only difficult to separate, but also best viewed as processes with no end point (e.g. Rampton, 1995b; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). Section 2.2 traces one aspect of the **enregisterment** process, namely the representation of language–ethnicity links in political and public discourses from the late colonial period until the end of the New Order government in 1998. In doing so, I point to two emerging **SRs**. The first, say **Semiotic Register 1** (**SR1**), is made up of signs such as Indonesian, objectivity, development, education, and the ethnic other. The second, say **Semiotic Register 2** (**SR2**), contains signs such as **languages other than Indonesian** (**LOTI**), region, ethnicity, intimacy, and so on.

Section 2.3 points to some of the continuities between the **SRs** described in Section 2.2 and those produced as a result of schooling practices. In particular, I point out that schooling practices help **enregister** Indonesian with the ethnic

other, objectivity, development, and education, while simultaneously enregistering **LOTI** with ethnicity and region. Following this, I turn my focus to interactions found in three television serials (Section 2.4). The main aim here is to look at whether and to what extent representations of language use have continuities with the **SRs** described in the previous sections. Chineseness differs from place-based ethnicity, although it also has roots in a colonial past. In Section 2.5 I look at how Chineseness – as a category of personhood – has been associated with particular signs since colonial times, especially those relating to social deviance. In concluding, I point out that the signs making up these **SRs** are best seen as resources that Indonesians can draw upon to interpret and convey meaning in situated talk.

2.1 Interaction, semiotic registers, and enregisterment

Drawing on the work of Agha (2007), Wenger (1998), and Wortham (2006), my main argument in this section is that concepts such as identity and language are difficult, if not impossible, to separate. This work is partly grounded in ethnomethodology which, among other things, aims to describe how language is used to do identity work (e.g. Sacks, 1995; Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998a; Francis & Hester, 2004; Schegloff, 2007). This has a number of benefits and allows for less speculation about participants' interpretations of ongoing talk, because they frequently have to show each other through each turn at talk that they are orienting to each others' utterances. Thus, methodologically, sequential analysis of turns at talk allows us insights into how participants come to some shared understanding of the situated meaning of ongoing talk.

In developing this perspective, scholars of language socialization (e.g. Ochs, 1988, 1996) have demonstrated that such talk also produces indexical relations between setting, activities, persons, topics, utterances, prosody, gesture, affective stance, et cetera. In this sense, language is much more than just linguistic forms. In his work on **semiotic registers** (**SRs**) Agha (2007) has further clarified the dynamics of this process as it relates to issues of stability, variation, change, and cultural reproduction more generally in private and public spaces. He defines a **semiotic register** (**SR**) as a category of signs that includes both linguistic and non-linguistic signs, such as personas, affective stances, place, space, et cetera. The links between these signs and the **SR** of which they are a part are such that the use of one sign – whether linguistic or non-linguistic – implicates the **semiotic register(s)** to which it belongs (Agha, 2007: 81).

Semiotic registers (**SRs**) should also be viewed as emergent. For example, signs only become signs if those used by a sender are recognized by the receiver. In looking at this process in a little more detail, we can look at Wortham's (2006) work on social identification and time-frames. He notes that in initial situated encounters (the shortest time-frame) newcomers do not have a fixed identity

vis-à-vis other participants. Because of this, all participants draw upon some of the signs that make up a particular longer-term **SR** to signal and interpret identity. Whether and to what extent a sign (say Sign A) becomes used for social identification in subsequent speech situations depends upon the extent to which a number of other signs (say Signs B and C) indexical of the **SR** being invoked co-occur in a way that helps confirm participants' interpretation of Sign A in the initial interaction.

In ethnomethodological terms we are talking about whether this usage is ratified or oriented to in conversation (e.g. Schegloff, 1992, 2007; Francis & Hester, 2004; Ten Have, 2007). In cases where the usage of signs is not ratified such disjunctures are often seen through stops in ongoing talk, requests for clarification, and so on. In other words, this type of conversational activity provides insights into a participant's "frames of expectation" about sign usage (e.g. Goffman, 1974; Tannen, 1993). Wortham (2006) points out the process of recognizing signs closely resembles Gumperz's (1982a) notion of "conversational inference" and these signs resemble "contextualization cues." If such social identification is ratified in initial encounters, signs used in this interaction can then become a resource to be appropriated in subsequent interactions (developing time-frame). Thus, over time, identity as one sign within a **SR** can solidify in a local setting. In this sense we can see the nexus between what is commonly referred to as "language," "identity," and "expectations about behavior."

Another reason why **SRs** should be seen as emerging is that the very nature of **SR** production means that the constellation of signs making up a **SR** will change in a speech chain (that is, from speech event to speech event) because place, participants, gesture, et cetera will differ from one speech event to the next (e.g. Agha, 2007; Wortham, 2006). As such, meaning is a product of the negotiation of meaning between a number of participants in a particular setting (see Wenger, 1998). In this sense, then, **SR** formation always draws upon pre-existing signs from other **SRs** that exist within a system of **SRs** (e.g. Agha, 2007). Continued interaction over time and across speech events, however, allows for some linguistic signs from an emerging **SR** to become reified and associated with particular types of persons, settings, social practices, and so on. In other words, despite the emergent nature of **SRs**, some become more stable and perdure over time through processes of **enregisterment**, defined here as:

> . . . [S]ociohistorical processes . . . whereby diverse behavioral signs (whether linguistic, non-linguistic, or both) are functionally reanalyzed as cultural models of action, as behaviors capable of indexing stereotypic characteristics of incumbents of particular interactional roles, and of relations among them. (Agha, 2007: 55)

In addition to being a product of face-to-face **semiotic encounters** across speech events, the **enregisterment** of **SRs** can be a result of meta-pragmatic discourses about language usage and users found in dictionaries and prescriptive

grammars, more widely accessible books on etiquette, novels, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television (e.g. Agha, 2003; Inoue, 2004). In other words, through this geographical and temporal expansion of speech chains the **social domain** of signs and their associated **SR** widens (Agha, 2007). The extent to which the **social domain** of some **SRs** and their associated signs perdure and can be seen as more widely circulating seems to relate to whether receivers are just a small number of people or millions (as in the case of popular mass media); whether and to what extent institutions authorize such **SRs** (as in the case of schools adopting a standard language); the extent to which there is temporal continuity within authorizing institutions (especially their policies and discourses that implicate language and/or particular personas: Goebel, 2008b, 2009); and whether and to what extent receivers are willing to identify with and use a **SR** (Agha, 2007). In the case of representations of language use in the media, the signs linking language use to performable social personas and relationships are harder to falsify or question (Agha, 2007: 74–7). This is because this type of speech chain does not allow the type of questioning and/or ratification of signs that are possible in face-to-face talk, and the audience of such representations is also much larger (Agha, 2007).

Competence to perform or comprehend **SRs** varies from person to person (e.g. Agha, 2007). This is so because people are members of diverse social networks and consume and interpret media in different ways (e.g. Fairclough, 1995; Spitulnik, 1996; Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod, & Larkin, 2002; Friedman, 2006). That is, they have different **trajectories of socialization** (e.g. Wortham, 2005). While this points to the fragmented nature of people's understanding of signs, such as linguistic tokens and/or utterance that are part of a **SR**, these divergent trajectories also represent different processes of **enregisterment** which produce multiple **SRs** (Agha, 2007).

Thus, on the one hand, there will always be dominant **SRs** within a system of such registers, especially those that are institutionally authorized, as in the case of sign usage associated with a "standard language" in state-owned/run schools and broadcasters (e.g. Spitulnik, 1998). On the other, there will also be **semiotic registers** that wax and wane with political and economic climates, as in mass-mediated discussions of deviance, gender, migrants and migration (e.g. Coppel, 1983; Collins *et al.*, 2000; Cootle, 2000; Poynting *et al.*, 2004; Inoue, 2006; Goebel, 2008b, 2009). In this sense, while there will always be dominant **SRs** within a system of such registers there will also, necessarily, be competing **SRs** (e.g. Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998; Agha, 2007). Thus, in any social interaction, participants' familiarity with signs or fragments from a **SR** enables them to engage in discourses about difference and in social identification projects (e.g. Irvine & Gal, 2000; Irvine, 2001). Of course, a continuing challenge is to be able to demonstrate linkages between sign usage

in these perduring **SRs** and sign usage in situated interaction. This question, which is receiving increasing attention from those in the area of linguistic anthropology (e.g. Dunn, 2006; Rampton, 2006; and the papers in Silverstein & Urban, 1996b, and in Agha, 2005), will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

In many settings, especially those characterized by diversity, engaging in discourses of difference and social identification projects can be achieved through the practices of **crossing** or **styling the other** and **adequation**. In the rest of this book I use the first two terms interchangeably. Drawing on Rampton (1995a: 282; 1999: 422), I define **crossing** as situation-specific, performed, non-habitual use of linguistic and non-linguistic signs stereotypically associated with a particular group to achieve either situational sameness, comedy, irony, et cetera, and/or more sinister effects associated with the negative positioning or representation of others whose linguistic signs are being borrowed. Often such **crossing** attracts meta-talk by other participants. In contrast, I use the term **adequation**, coined by Bucholtz and Hall (2004a: 383–4; 2004b: 494–5), although in a more limited sense because in its original form it refers to both short-term pursuits of sameness (which seems to cover **crossing**), and long-term or habitual social pursuits of sameness. In using the term **adequation** instead of **crossing**, what I want to highlight is the *habitual* sense of this term as well as the lack of meta-talk that such practice attracts from other participants. The few studies that I am aware of which emphasize this habitual pursuit of sameness tend also to highlight that it is – perhaps unsurprisingly – associated with the sharing of social spaces and frequent interaction within these spaces by those who engage in **adequation** (e.g. Goebel, 2002; Piller, 2002; Sweetland, 2002; Skapoulli, 2004).

2.2 Enregisterment: From colonial to New Order Indonesia

While there has been much scholarly attention focused on the colonial origins of language-based ethnic categorization in Indonesia (e.g. Smith-Hefner, 1989; Steedly, 1996; Errington, 2001), there has been less work done on how ideologies linking language with ethnicity are reproduced (for important exceptions see Errington, 1998a, 1998b, 2000). Indeed, much of the work on ethnicity conducted during the New Order period (roughly 1966–1998) took ethnicity as a pre-existing natural category based upon place–language associations (e.g. Hoshour, 1997; Lenhart, 1997; Schefold, 1998; Hoey, 2003). In this section I explore how such associations were initially produced in the Dutch colonial period and reproduced through to the end of the New Order period in May 1998.

The **enregisterment** of ethno-linguistic difference in Indonesia can be traced back to a number of activities and settings in the Dutch colonial period. In

particular, the administration and policy-making of the Dutch after the mid nineteenth century as it related to planning and administering a plantation economy contributed to the construction of ethnic and other groupings (e.g. Smith-Hefner, 1989: 261–2; Kusno, 2000; Errington, 2001: 25–6; Hefner, 2001a: 18). Similarly, the work of Dutch missionaries and their schools contributed to this process, especially in linking linguistic signs with geographically situated groups (e.g. Steedly, 1996: 450; Errington, 2001). As Errington (2001: 20) has remarked, such practices of documenting language differences helped naturalize ethnicity. In tandem to this process – and thus allowing for further differentiation within a system of **SRs** – another **SR** was being **enregistered**. This **SR** was a variety of Malay that was codified by and for the colonial regime (Errington, 1998a, 2000). Indeed, Malay was very much associated with the state in the colonial period, first through the standardization of an orthography at the turn of the twentieth century and later disseminated through Dutch colonial institutions, such as the *Balai Pustaka* publishing house (Errington, 1998a: 273–4; 2000: 207–8).

Categories such as Malay language and ethnic languages increasingly became part of public meta-pragmatic discourses through such activities as the 1928 Youth Congress, which proposed using Malay – renamed as *bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian) – as the language of a growing anti-colonial movement and of a potential Indonesian state, rather than Javanese or other ethnic languages (e.g. Alisjahbana, 1976; Anwar, 1980; Abas, 1987; Dardjowidjojo, 1998; Foulcher, 2000). Some of the reasons given for such a choice were based upon arguments about the relatedness of Malay to place-based ethnolinguistic groupings, such as Balinese, Javanese, Sundanese, Buginese, Minahasan, Acehnese, Minangkabau (e.g. Poedjosoedarmo, 1982). Thus, during this period, public practices of discernment and choice that explicitly mentioned Indonesian and **languages other than Indonesian** (**LOTI**) helped **enregister** two **SRs**. The first contained within its category of signs **LOTI**, ethnicity and region, while the second contained Indonesian and the potential new state (among other things).

This treatment of ethnicity as something linked with region and language continued after Indonesia gained independence from its Dutch colonial masters in 1949/50,[1] although ethnicity was constructed and evaluated differently by members of the central government in Java and regional leaders from other islands. For example, in the mid 1950s regional leaders saw shared language as a sign of ethnic group membership, which could be used to gather support for their efforts to gain more autonomy vis-à-vis the Jakartan political elite (Feith, 1962: 522). For their part, the central government in Jakarta perceived such ethnic groups as threatening the unity of the fledgling Indonesian state (Schefold, 1998: 268–71). As a result, ethnicity was negatively evaluated by the central government.

This sentiment was carried to the initial period of the Suharto New Order regime which started in the mid 1960s (Schefold, 1998: 272). However, the reasons for such negative evaluations were related more to a fear of communism than of regional separatism: a point we will look at further in Section 2.5. In this case, groups of people in places remote to central authority were constructed as ethnic groups with weak social organizations and strange primitive ways of life that could easily fall prey to communism (see also the papers in Hooker, 1993b). Such negative evaluations of ethnicity could be seen in the government's transmigration policy, which moved landless poor from the overpopulated areas of Java and Bali to the *perceived* sparsely populated outer islands, such as Sumatra (e.g. Hoshour, 1997; Schefold, 1998; Hoey, 2003). While transmigration was designed to alleviate population pressure, it also was thought of as a further avenue for national integration with transmigrants helping to *civilize* other groups of people living in the outer islands (see also Lenhart, 1997).

At the same time there were also other approaches to the populations living in the outer islands. These might be thought of as positively evaluating ethnicity, although they were motivated by other fears, this time of Islamic fundamentalism (Schefold, 1998: 273). For example, rather than encouraging the proselytization of members of these groups who entered into inter-ethnic marriages with transmigrants, more leeway was given for members of these groups to continue to practice indigenous religious beliefs. In this way, ethnicity was again valued, if only as a counterweight to the perceived threat of Islamic fundamentalism.

Wary of prior regional tensions, the Suharto government also moved to look at identity, ethnic and otherwise, as multiple so that Indonesians were Indonesian citizens first and members of ethnic and religious groups second. This was achieved through the commoditization and domestication of ethnicity whereby ethnicity was strongly linked with region, attire, housing, custom and tourism (e.g. Schefold, 1998: 274–6; Parker, 2002; and the papers in Hooker, 1993b). An example of these neutral to positive evaluations of ethnicity can be seen in the *Taman Mini* (Indonesia in Miniature Park) in Jakarta, which stereotypically represents housing and ways of life from all over Indonesia (Hoon, 2006). One linguistic example of this process is found in Errington (1998b: 65, 69–70), who has highlighted how New Order nationalism and developmentalism has led to portrayals of Javanese ethnicity as a custom associated with high Javanese language and standardized rituals.

At the same time, Indonesian as the national language of Indonesia was vigorously planned, based on western models of development and nationalism. This resulted in a **SR** that included notions such as development, truth, objectivity, evaluation, education, power, et cetera (e.g. Errington, 1998a, 1998b, 2000). Just as important, however, was Indonesian's role as a language of national

unity by way of its function as a mediator of social relations between geographically dispersed ethnic groups with their own languages (e.g. Abas, 1987: 116; Lowenberg, 1990; Dardjowidjojo, 1998; Sneddon, 2003: 201–2). This act of institutionalizing Indonesian as a language of wider communication between those who are ethno-linguistically different also allows for the assigning of stereotypical indexical values of "the other" or "stranger" with performances of Indonesian usage. To this we can add enumeration practices of census exercises prior to 2000 which, although not asking for information on ethnicity, still had questions asking which regional language census-takers spoke (e.g. Muhidin, 2002; Suryadinata *et al.*, 2003). Arguably, this also provided an authoritative, though implicit, meta-pragmatic discourse about language–ethnicity relationships (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; for some insights into this more general process as it relates to enumeration, see Appadurai, 1996: 116–18).

What becomes clear from the discussion thus far is that ethnicity was often a by-product or unintended consequence of institutional initiatives and political meta-pragmatic discourses in colonial, post-independence and New Order Indonesia. Nevertheless, these all played a role in the **enregisterment** of a system of **SRs**. In particular, we can point to two emerging **SRs**. The first, say **SR1**, being made up of signs, such as Indonesian, objectivity, development, education, and the ethnic Other. In relation to the "ethnic other" it also needs to be made clear here that I am not focusing on Indonesian-Chinese versus *pribumi* (indigenous Indonesians), nor on ethnic otherness as religious difference, but rather discourses of differences that relate to place-based forms of ethnic difference. The second, say **SR2**, can be seen as containing signs such as **LOTI**, region, and ethnicity. In the following sections I narrow the focus to look at processes of **enregisterment** in the schooling system and in the popular mass media in the New Order period.

2.3 Government policy, regional languages, and schooling

An examination of the Indonesian constitution makes it clear that institutional representations linking region and language were already around before many of the events noted in Section 2.2. For example, as Anwar (1980: 137) notes, Chapter XV (Article 36) of the Indonesian constitution explicitly states the need to preserve *bahasa daerah* "regional languages" (see also Hooker, 1993a: 273). Government language policy has realized this ideological viewpoint in Indonesian primary and secondary school education systems through the teaching of regional languages and local content (e.g. Nababan, 1991: 124; Lowenberg, 1992: 65), although the success of these plans appears to be patchy at best (e.g. Bjork, 2005; Kurniasih, 2006, 2007).

Even so, drawing upon what we know about processes of **SR** formation we can suggest that the labeling processes that go with teaching, textbooks, and timetabled subjects may contribute to children's understanding of language as a named object tied to stereotypical performable identities. In addition, such processes will not only help children name the languages that they speak, but also enable them to imagine themselves as a member of a particular group of people, who are defined as such by way of residence and language usage (e.g. Lowenberg, 1990: 118; Nababan, 1991: 122–3; Parker, 2002). In other words, children's exposure to such discourses about languages and their users and uses may **enregister LOTI** with ethnicity as part of schooling practices, which have some of their grounding in constitutionally sanctioned language policy. As such, a child's emergent **SR** – which might initially contain signs such as linguistic tokens and utterances, intimacy, family, local spaces – might also include "ethnicity," "us," and "region."[2]

As implied earlier, this relationship between language and ethnicity may well be further enhanced through the learning of Indonesian at school, especially where Indonesian is portrayed as the language of unity and communication among geographically dispersed ethnic groups with their own languages. Indeed, the propagation of Indonesian at school as the language of national unity helps categorize communication with members of other ethnic groups as "a communicative practice requiring Indonesian." In doing so, it reproduces the category of the "ethnic other" while also reproducing the links between this category and Indonesian usage. Thus, these processes of schooling can also be seen as sites that contribute to the **enregisterment** – or at the very least represent continuities – between the **SRs** (**SR1** and **SR2**) discussed in Section 2.2.

It is also useful to point out that as a social practice, schooling will also contribute other signs to these **SRs**. For example, in citizenship classes students are provided with lessons on geography and ethnic groups within Indonesia (Parker, 2002). Such lessons not only enable students graduating from elementary school to name all the provinces of Indonesia and their capital cities, but they also help to associate these spaces with signs such as monuments, car number plates, dress and so on. Similarly, notions of status in terms of age differences may be associated differently with Indonesian and **LOTI**. As one illustration of this process as it relates to **LOTI** we can consider material for the teaching of Javanese at primary/elementary school and middle/junior high school (e.g. Soetarno, 1989; Soeparto & Soetarno, 1990). For example, in Soeparto and Soetarno's textbook for third grade primary/elementary students there are clear examples of heavily asymmetrical exchanges between a mother and her child at home.

Extract 2.1 presents one example from this text. It is of an exchange between a mother (referred to as Ibu) and son (referred to as either Wisnu or the shortened

form Nu), dressed in school uniform, and they are pictured at home in their kitchen. In the text below *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) is in **bold** font, *krámá* Javanese (KJ) is indicated with **BOLD CAPS** and ambiguous forms, e.g. those that could be classified as either NJ or Indonesian, are in ***bold italics***.

Extract 2.1 An elementary school Javanese language lesson text

Ibu		
1	**Isih ésuk *kok* wis mulih**, Nu?	***Gee* it's still early and you are already home** [from school] Nu
Wisnu		
2	**INGGIH**, ***Bu***. **KALA WAU**	**YES, *Mum*. EARLIER I**
3	**NAMPI *rapot* inggah-**	**RECEIVED** [my] **end of year**
4	**inggahan**.	***report card***.
Ibu		
5	**Piyé kowé rak *ya* munggah**,	**So how about it**, **you passed**,
6	***ta***?	***right***?
Wisnu		
7	**MINGGAH**, ***Bu***. **PUNIKA**	**PASSED, *Mum*. HERE IS**
8	**RAPOTIPUN**.	**THE REPORT**.
Ibu		
9	***Wah***, ***ibu* mèlu bungah**.	***Wow***, ***I'm* happy**, ***your report***
10	***Rapotmu* apik**, **ndadèkaké**	[is] **good**, [you] **make your**
11	**bungahé wong tuwa.**	**parents happy**.
Wisnu		
12	**WUCULAN *kelas* 3 angèl**,	**ARE *grade* 3 LESSONS**
13	**NGGIH *Bu***?	**difficult *Mum***?
Ibu		
14	**Ora áná barang angel**. **Kowé**	**There is nothing difficult. You**
15	**kudu mbudidaya amrih**	**have to try and study so that**
16	**pinter. *Bapak* rak ya wis**	[you] **are smart. Hasn't *Dad***
17	**ndhawuhi, ta!**	**already given** [you] **advice**?
Wisnu		
18	**INGGIH, *Bu*. Saben**	**YES, *Mum*. Every DAY I**
19	**DINTEN KULO BADHÉ**	**WILL study. I DO MY**
20	**sinau. Nggarap PR BOTEN**	**HOMEWORK so** [I] **DON'T**
21	**nate KESUPÈN.**	**FORGET.**
Ibu		
22	**Kudu ngono. Bèsuk kowé**	**That's right. Later you will**
23	**dadi bocah sing pinter. Káná**	**become a smart kid. Go there**
24	**njupuka *olèh-olèh* ana *méja***!	**and get** [some] ***food*** (literally gifts but usually such gifts are in the form of food) **on the *table*!**

(Adapted from Soeparto & Soetarno, 1990: 7–8)

As can be seen in Extract 2.1, the exchange is heavily asymmetrical with Wisnu using mainly *krámá* forms of Javanese to his mother, while his mother uses *ngoko* Javanese forms. Note that those forms used by Wisnu that aren't

krámá represent forms that don't actually have *krámá* equivalents. Note also that this asymmetrical exchange occurs between an older person, in this case the mother, and her younger child. To the extent to which Javanese is taught in schools, it may thus associate or **enregister** such exchanges with asymmetries in age, which may or may not represent continuities with language socialization practices in the home (e.g. Smith-Hefner, 1983, 1988).

While **LOTI** classrooms may well help add status to **SR2**, we can also suggest that participation in a state-sanctioned institution involving the use of Indonesian will also potentially add other signs to **SR1**. Arguably, the use of Indonesian in interactions among younger and older participants (i.e. teachers) may well help **enregister** Indonesian with certain epistemologies. For example, what counts as knowledge, how it is to be gained, who has the authority to learn and teach such knowledge, what language is the language of knowledge, what language is the language of truth and objectivity may all be **enregistered** with Indonesian (e.g. Errington, 1998b, 2000, 2001). In short, some of the meanings and identities that Indonesian token usage may invoke for school children include "ethnic other," "talk about the world" (as against talk about self and interpersonal relationships), "instructions," "authority to give instructions," "age equals authority," "institutional talk," "educated talk," "truth," "scientific objectivity" and so on.

2.4 Popular television and enregisterment in late New Order Indonesia

In this section I point to continuities between the emergent **SRs** (**SR1** and **SR2**) described thus far and representations of language use on Indonesian television in the late New Order period (1990–1998). This period is especially interesting due to changes in media laws which allowed the establishment of new private television stations in 1990 (e.g. Kitley, 2000; Sen & Hill, 2000). For example, Sen and Hill (2000: 119) have noted that the emergence of the first private television channels in Indonesia in 1990 was accompanied by programming and operating rules that stated that the language used by such stations should be Standard Indonesian with regional languages only being used when suitable. Such rules represent state meta-pragmatic discourses about the relationship between language, ethnicity, and region.

At the same time that such authorized meta-discourses circulated, the entry of new television stations worked against the enforcement of such rules. This was in part because of the subsequent problems of gaining and maintaining viewers (Sen & Hill, 2000: 123–4). That is, market share. One of the ways in which private and public stations tried to gain and maintain their market share was to include more local content, including that which contained liberal amounts of tokens from a **LOTI** (Sen & Hill, 2000). The stereotypical representations

of language use in such television serials can be seen as more implicit metapragmatic discourses linking language usage to performable social personas and relationships. In what follows I provide excerpts from some television serials recorded between late 1995 and mid 1998.

In discussing these serials I point out that there are at least three patterns of representation. The first excerpt (Extract 2.2) shows a pattern of representation that reinforces the language-ethnicity links discussed in the previous two sections. The second pattern, shown in Extract 2.3, relates primarily to some of the new inflections created as part of the first pattern, namely the representation of Indonesian as an index of the ethnic other. For example, by way of contrasting two speech events containing two **SRs**, Extract 2.3 seems to go beyond being a representation of a **SR** linking language to ethnicity to one that also links a **LOTI** to "personal life worlds" and Indonesian to "talk about the world" (see Errington 1998b on this as it relates to actual interactions in Central Java). Extract 2.4 contrasts considerably with 2.2 and 2.3 in that what it offers is a model of **adequation**, where language–ethnicity links are denaturalized. The analysis of these extracts starts with my identification of linguistic and non-linguistic signs that either co-occur or are part of the larger story. For the purposes of this chapter I focus on signs that indicate place, rather than on all perceivable signs which among other things also offer representations of social class and gender.

Extract 2.2 is taken from an episode of *Si Kabayan* (Kabayan is a person's name), which is a series set in a village in West Java. It is based upon a 1959 novel and numerous interpretations thereof in the form of subsequent television series and feature-length films (Wikipedia, [nd]-a). This particular series was broadcast both nationally and locally by *SCTV* (a privately owned television station). In early 1996 I recorded this episode, titled *Bukan Impianku Bag: 1* (It wasn't my dream: Part 1). Indonesian is in plain font, **LOTI** in bold, bold italics indicates forms that can be classified as either a **LOTI** or Indonesian, and "[]" indicates implied talk.

I also use the following to indicate prosody, tempo and pause: a period " . " is used to indicate a perceivable silence, while numbers in brackets indicate silences from three-tenths of a second and more; an apostrophe " ' " indicates final falling intonation; a question mark " ? " represents final rising intonation; two arrows ">" surrounding talk are used to indicate that this talk is faster than the previous and subsequent talk; and a series of colons "::" represents a sound stretch.

The interaction in Extract 2.2 occurs after the male referred to with the term *Abah* (Father) has finished exercising, to the astonishment of two female onlookers. The first onlooker is referred to with the term *Ambu* (Mother), while the other is referred to in the subsequent talk with Iteung (a person's name). While viewers who are not familiar with **LOTI** terms of address and tokens

Extract 2.2 Reproducing SR2: television representations of LOTI

Abah		
1	kenapa **ambu** . melihatnya	What's up **Mum**? **Gawking** at
2	sampai **melongo** begitu (0.5)	me like that, as if you were
3	kaya? melihat ***kebo***'	looking at a ***buffalo***.
Ambu		
4	he::ran . **abah teh** udah	[I] don't understand. **Dad** [you]
5	puluhan tahun? tidak pernah	haven't done any ***exercise*** for
6	***olahraga*** (0.5) >**naha ayeuna**	years, **why are** [you] **now**
7	***olahraga* deui atuh**'>	taking up ***exercise* again**?

(Source: Petet, 1996)

(lines 1–2, 4, 6–7) may not understand them, their occurrence within a primarily Indonesian-medium serial may present signs of difference. In isolation these fragments may leave open questions, such as which **LOTI** is used. Such questions, however, are potentially answered with recourse to both co-occurring signs and subsequent interactions.

For example, the physical location of the interaction – which is in the front yard of a house surrounded by gardens – hints at potential family and thus intimacy. This suggests that the terms of address may in fact be kin terms. Such a reading is further supported with recourse to signs of speaker age, where both speakers seem to be of the same age and much older than the other female participant (Iteung). As the story unfolds the three participants here are found sharing meals together in the house noted above, and Itueng and other characters also address the two participants above as Abah and Ambu. In doing so, readings about participant identities and relationships become less ambiguous; in this case original readings about family and intimacy can further solidify (e.g. Wortham, 2006).

In terms of identifying which **LOTI**, in this episode other characters interacting with Abah and Ambu are directly identified as belonging to a particular region by way of them wearing a government uniform with badges that have information on province, thus indirectly tying all of the speakers to this region. Moreover, the arrival of a stranger who explicitly says that he is from Bandung, together with his car sporting a Bandung number plate, help disambiguate questions of which **LOTI** by pointing to a specific region, in this case Sundanese-speaking West Java. In short, such representations help reproduce **SR2** by linking a **LOTI** with region.

Of course, there are also many other signs that are potentially indexed to **SR2**. For example, **SR2** may also be subtly changed or added to by way of **LOTI** tokens co-occurring with signs of rurality, such as shots of rice fields with the main actor present, his buffalo in this field and in a barn beside his home, the tree–covered surrounds of his house, the unpaved and uneven narrow

road, and so on. Similarly, the stranger's self-identification as a lawyer, his expensive-looking clothing, his chauffeur-driven car, and his exclusive use of Indonesian – in contrast to the other characters' frequent use of **LOTI** tokens – also reproduces and subtly changes **SR1**. For example, it reproduces **SR1** as described in Section 2.3 by way of containing signs, such as Indonesian tokens and an educated stranger, while adding "wealth" and "the city" to this **semiotic register** (**SR**).

At this stage it is also useful to point out that while the above signs may well be interpreted as such when viewed by people from this region, such signs along with recourse to the whole story may also allow those from other regions to make these sorts of associations or guesses. This, of course, is dependent upon whether viewers continue to watch, rather than not bothering because of **LOTI** content that they don't understand. As some Indonesians have suggested, in cases where there is heavy **LOTI** usage in serials that come to spaces where a particular **LOTI** is not understood, they often turn off the television (Goebel, in preparation).

Even so, television viewing – at least in the wards I discuss in the following chapter – often involves others, including family and neighbors, a situation that also fits with a recent ethnography of television viewers in Indonesia (Rachmah Ida, 2009). Moreover, this serial and others have characters translating **LOTI** utterances into Indonesian (via repetition). This practice and the potential presence of neighbors and family all represent sources of information about the language used, the storyline and the inter-personal relationships between characters (Goebel, in preparation). Thus, for populations unfamiliar with the **LOTI** being used, such representations may also **enregister LOTI** with place, ethnicity, intimacy, and ruralness, and Indonesian with stranger identity, wealth, education, and the city.

The representation of these **SRs** also appears to be widespread insofar as they can be found in a number of television serials found on different stations (with different target audiences) and in different time periods. Extract 2.3 represents one such example. This extract is drawn from an episode titled *Cipoa* (Con artist) of a series called *None* (Missy), broadcast nationally in 1995 by the state-owned educational television station *TPI*. In this setting a young woman (Susi) has traveled by taxi to a house she wishes to rent. After pressing the door buzzer she is met by another young woman (Dewi) at the door.

In addition to the font conventions used in Extract 2.2, here SMALL CAPS indicate English forms and **BOLD CAPS** indicate *politeness* tokens. I also add to the conventions used for indicating prosody and pause as follows: "+" surrounding talk indicates that the volume has been increased relative to the previous and subsequent talk; I use "=" to indicate latching, that is, where there is no perceivable pause between turns; and I use "{" to indicate overlapping talk.

Extract 2.3 Television representations of language and the stranger

Neng Susi		
1	>ada orangnya nggak sih	Is anyone there or not? Heh!
2	di situ?> (1.1) {+heh+	
Neng Dewi		
3	{ya (1.3)	Yeah.
Neng Susi		
4	>ada orangnya nggak di	Is anyone there or not?
5	situ?> (0.6)	
Neng Dewi		
6	ada (1.0)	Yes there is.
Neng Susi		
7	panggil (0.4) > eh ada	Call [the house owner] eh,
8	uang kecil nggak?> (0.5)	haven't got any change [have you]?
Neng Dewi		
9	+ha+ (0.5) kamar kecil'	What, is there a bathroom,
10	(0.4) >ada tu di dalam> .	yeah there is one inside, just
11	masuk aja (2.0)	come inside.
Neng Susi		
12	wadu::h' (0.3) +oh MY	Wow, oh MY GOD this house
13	GOD+ (0.3) bagus juga ini	is great yeah. But [we] need
14	rumah ya? ya tapi mesti	to change some of the things
15	diganti lagi sama barang-	[furnishings] with more
16	barang yang lebih TRENDI'	TRENDY ones. Susi [i.e. "I"]
17	(1.2) susi nggak suka sama	doesn't like colors like this,
18	warna warna kayak gini	they are not active enough.
19	(0.3) kurang aktif (0.4) ya? .	Yeah if its artists like us
20	kita kan artis mesti GLAMOR	right [we] need [to be]
21	gitu' . eh (0.3) tolong dong	GLAMOROUS right. Eh,
22	dibayarin taksi dulu . +itu	please pay the taxi first, that
23	tu+ yang di luar ya? (9.0)	one, the one outside, yeah.
Mang Ucup		
24	**neng** dewi? (1.1)	**Miss** Dewi?
Neng Dewi		
25	**mang** (1.0) heh (1.0) **mang**	**Uncle**? Huh! **Uncle**?
26	(1.0)	
Mang Ucup		
27	**neng** dewi (0.3) **neng** hehe	**Miss** Dewi. **Miss**! (laughs)
28	(0.5)	
Neng Dewi		
29	**mang** . +**mang** {a:::	**Uncle Uncle Uncle**
30	**mang**+	
Mang Ucup		
31	{>(laugher)	You're **Miss** Dewi **aren't**
32	ini **teh neng** dewi **téa**>=	**you**?

Extract 2.3 (*cont.*)

Neng Dewi		
33	=	
34	>+ ya **mang** { (laughter)+>	Yes **Uncle**.
Mang Ucup		
35	{ >+**euluh euluh**	**Gee gee gee wow you're**
36	**euluh mani** sudah besar	already grown up; do [you]
37	begini ah+> . masih **inget**	still **remember to Uncle**,
38	**ka mang** coba . he . =	try [and remember].
Neng Dewi		
39	= >+ya	
40	masih **atuh** ini **teh mang**+>	Yeah **of course** you [are]
41	**ma**::**ng** >**kéheula kéheula**	**Uncle**, **Uncle**, **hang on**,
42	**kéheula kéheula**> . **ma**:::**ng**	**hang on**, **hang on**, **hang**
43	>**mang** ucup =	**on**, **Uncle**, **Uncle** Ucup
Mang Ucup		
44	= >+wah	
45	betul+> =	Wow right.
Neng Dewi		
46	= simultaneous	
47	laughter =	Simultaneous laughter
Mang Ucup		
48	= **damang neng**'=	**How are** [you] **Miss**?
Neng Dewi		
49	=	
50	+**SAÉ**? **mang**+	**GOOD**, **Uncle**.

(Source: Television Pendidikan Indonesia (*TPI*), 1995)

The activities immediately preceding Extract 2.3 – that is, the arrival of a taxi, the pressing of a door buzzer, and the initial meeting – all suggest a reading of "interaction between strangers." Such a reading is further reinforced through the use of Indonesian in lines 1–23 and the absence of terms of address or proper names. As with Extract 2.2, these signs of identity are further disambiguated with recourse to prior and subsequent interaction. For example, by contrasting the first speech event involving Susi and Dewi with the second speech event involving Dewi and the taxi driver (Mang Ucup) we can see that the second speech event contains many **LOTI** tokens and terms of address (in bold). Hints of just which **LOTI** are provided immediately prior to the interaction through the shot of the number plate of the taxi, which has a "D" prefix indicating Bandung (the capital city of West Java, also known as the centre of the most refined Sundanese speakers). Such representations may not only help continue associations between **LOTI**, region and ethnicity but they also produce associations between Indonesian and stranger.

Indeed, when viewed with recourse to other signs, the interactions in Extract 2.3 invite a thickening of this interpretation. For example, the reciprocal use of **LOTI** tokens co-occurs with continuous smiling, head shaking, touch, names and affective tokens of surprise (*teh* and *téa* in lines 32 and 40), excitement (*euluh* in lines 35–36), raised volume, increased pace of talk, latching, overlap and conversational topics about self (rather than the surroundings, as is done in lines 12–16). Such usage of signs may suggest that the terms of address used between Dewi and Ucup are in fact kin terms (though as the story unfolds we find that Ucup is not Dewi's blood relative, thus the term *Mang* has been reanalyzed here: see Agha, 2007). Moreover, contrasting the talk of Dewi and Susi (lines 1–23) with that of Dewi and Ucup (lines 24–50) strengthens readings of "stranger" for Susi, while adding "intimacy" to readings of "ethnicity" for Dewi and Ucup.

In some ways the representation of language use here goes beyond that found in Extract 2.2 by contrastively associating Indonesian, stranger, and talk about the world on the one hand (again say **SR1**), and **LOTI**, kin terms, persons' names, region, ethnicity, distinctive prosodic and gestural patterns, and talk about personal life worlds on the other (**SR2**). As with Extract 2.2, for viewers who understand the actual **LOTI** usage here, such representations may reproduce associations between a **LOTI**, ethnicity and region while also indexing embodied language with such usage. For those who do not, the representation of multiple co-occurring signs through the medium of television may well enable similar interpretations.

In other words, initial guesses about participant identities and so on are disambiguated through the presence of co-occurring signs together with their occurrence in relation to prior and subsequent signs. This is especially plausible given many viewers' ability to follow the story through their competence in Indonesian. In addition, and as pointed out earlier, this social identification process is also aided through the potential presence of a number of regular viewers who can answer others' questions about the story (e.g. Rachmah Ida, 2009; Goebel, in preparation). Thus, processes of **enregisterment** potentially occur for two different populations: those familiar with the **LOTI** and those who can follow the storyline.

As with Extract 2.2, processes of **SR** formation may also include the **enregisterment** of other signs. For example, if we take a look at the whole episode we can also see primarily asymmetrical **semiotic encounters**, insofar as Mang Ucup uses **LOTI** tokens and body language associated with giving deference to a higher-status participant (which is despite Mang Ucup physically appearing to be at least twenty years older than Dewi).

Up to this point I have explored continuities between representation of language use and their contribution to the **enregisterment** of **SRs**. In particular, I have focused on linguistic tokens or fragments that are associated with signs

of ethnicity, intimacy, stranger, and status. In the following extract I show how representations of language use can also contribute to the production of what might be seen as a competing **SR**.

Extract 2.4 is taken from a long-running popular series *Si Doel Anak Sekolahan* (Doel an Educated Lad) originally broadcast by *RCTI* at the local level in Jakarta (Sen & Hill, 2000: 123), but later nationally by *SCTV*. Like the serial *Si Kabayan*, *Si Doel* is based upon an interpretation of an earlier novel titled *Si Doel Anak Betawi* (Doel a Betawi Lad) and a number of earlier television serials and feature-length films (e.g. Loven, 2008). I recorded this particular episode titled *Meniti Batas Mimpi* (Walking Along the Edge of a Dream) in mid 1998.

This serial is different than the previous ones because it offers representations of language use that potentially contribute to the **enregisterment** of **SR2**, while also offering representations of **adequation** which tend to denaturalize the links that make up **SR2**. This series is also different insofar as the music accompaniment – a song that starts with *Anak Betawi* . . . (A child of the Betawi area . . .) – and the co-occurring **LOTI** tokens, panorama shots showing skyscrapers (mainly found in Jakarta), shots of Jakarta's famous port (*Sunda Kelapa*), and other landmarks, suggest that what follows is regional and potentially ethnic. It is also striking in that the producer, Rano Karno, reported specifically producing this series to show that older Indonesians of Betawi background should not be backward in their views on education (Tabloid Jelita/Dv/Idh, [nd]).[3] Each of these indicate implicit and explicit meta-pragmatic commentaries about ethnicity as a category of personhood linked with particular signs, such as place and language.[4]

Extract 2.4 is preceded by a shot of one participant, Karyo, raising a birdcage up a pole located beside a house in a large yard. He then moves to what appears to be a nearby *warung* (a small canteen-type construction selling food and home necessities), where Karyo starts his conversation with Leala. Indonesian is in plain font, **LOTI** tokens are in **bold**, and ***bold italics*** indicates those forms that can be classified as either a **LOTI** or Indonesian. Other transcription conventions remain the same as those used in Extracts 2.2 and 2.3.

As with the previous extracts the visual signs noted in Extract 2.4 do not provide unambiguous readings as to the identity of participants. They do, however, point to a number of possibilities. For example, the setting which is in the yard of a nearby house suggests family and intimacy. The co-occurrence of **LOTI** tokens and the use of first names of others referred to (Mandra in line 1, Munaroh in lines 7 and 8, and Atun in line 19) are signs that suggest a reading of ethnicity and intimacy (insofar as to know someone's name might mean some familiarity). When taken together with the music accompaniment and shots at the start of the show, however, a reading of Betawi ethnicity becomes possible.

Extract 2.4 Television representations of adequation

Bang Karyo		
1	**maknyak** . **bang** mandra	**Mum**, **Brother** Mandra has
2	sudah jalan ***toh***' (0.4)	already gone ***heh***?
Mak Leala		
3	***u***:::+***dah***+ (0.5)	***Yeah***.
Bang Karyo		
4	***kok tumben loh*** pagi pagi'	***Gee that's unusual*** [for him
5	(0.5)	to get up] so early.
Mak Leala		
6	**iyé** mau ke rumahnya	**Yeah**, [he] wants to go to
7	munaroh' (1.3)	Munaroh's house.
Bang Karyo		
8	ke rumah munaroh .	To Munaroh's house?
Mak Leala		
9	iya =	Yeah.
Bang Karyo		
10	= ***ngelamar*** ya' (0.3)	[He] wants to ***propose*** [marriage] yeah?
Mak Leala		
11	***ng***::***gak*** . >cuma mau	***No***, [he] only wants to ***ask***
12	***nanyain*** . kapan	when [is the best time to
13	lamarannya bisa	propose so that] it is
14	**diterimé**::> ***gitu***:'=	**accepted** [by his girlfriend's parents].
Bang Karyo		
15	= o:h .	Oh
16	>jadi belum ya **mak** ya>' =	so not yet heh **Mum** yeah?
Mak Leala		
17	=	
18	ya **belon** ***dong*** . (laugh)(0.4)	***No of course*** **not yet**.
Bang Karyo		
19	atun ada **mak** .	Is Atun around **Mum**?
Mak Leala		
20	ada **noh** lagi sarapan'	Yeah, **there** having breakfast.

(Source: Karno, 1998)

What sets this extract apart from the previous extracts is that Karyo is portrayed as an ethnic Javanese who on occasions uses and is spoken to in **LOTI** tokens associated with Betawi ethnicity (e.g. lines 1, 14, 16, 18–20) in an inter-ethnic interaction where we might expect to have Indonesian. This suggests that accommodating to one's new linguistic environment is not unusual and perhaps desirable. It is important to note here that such usage is situational and in other parts of the serial Karyo uses and is spoken to in Indonesian in interactions with those with whom he doesn't have close social relations. He only appears to use **LOTI** tokens (Betawi) when interacting with familiars.

Indeed, the intimacy side of Extract 2.4 is presupposable by reference to the interaction prior to that presented in the extract. For example, it presents the person addressed as Mak Leala as the mother of Karyo's girlfriend through her interaction – which is also characterized by **LOTI** fragments – with Mandra, Atun and Doel eating a meal inside the house described above. Hence, the term of address *Mak* can be read as a kin term, albeit "reanalyzed" to non-biological kin (e.g. Agha, 2007).

Thus, while Karyo's **LOTI** usage here is situational, by looking at wider interactional patterns we find it also represents a habitual pursuit of sameness through the use of linguistic tokens stereotypically associated with Betawi ethnicity. In other words, what we see here represents **adequation** (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall, 2004a) carried out in a way that actually denaturalizes the type of language–ethnicity links found in Extracts 2.2 and 2.3 (i.e. **SR2**). Representations of **adequation** as a social practice that disembeds ethnic identity from language variety can also be found in subsequent interactions and episodes where we see Karyo interacting with Atun (his Betawi girlfriend) and other Betawi in utterances containing **LOTI** tokens associated with Javanese. These are examples of **adequation** insofar as Atun is represented as someone who understands and follows such talk. As such, identity in these contexts relates less to an essentialized ethnic identity and more to situated "community of practice" (Wenger, 1998), where new ways of speaking and new identities develop simultaneously in an ongoing interaction. Ethnic identity is thus represented here as situated rather than place-based and static (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall, 2004a).

In concluding this section I would also like to note that while I have focused on just three television serials, these are examples of a common practice of using **LOTI** in such serials. Indeed, many other examples can be found in other television serials. For example, a series called *Di Balik Matahari* (On the other Side of the Sun) and *Mbangun Desa* (Developing the Village), broadcast by *TVRI* in 1996, contained frequent representations of Javanese usage, while series such as *Fatima* (Fatima) (broadcast by *ANTV*) and *Bajai Bajuri* (Bajuri's Three-wheeled Taxi) (broadcast on *Trans TV*) include representations of Betawi usage.

The tying of language use to certain identity categories is not, of course, limited to ethnicity, intimacy, ruralness, status, stranger, et cetera, but can also be seen in terms of social class. Indeed, examples of social class being **enregistered** with linguistic signs abound in feature-length films, such as *Rumahku Langitku* (My Sky My Home) (Rahardjo, 1990) and *Daun di atas Bantal* (Leaf on a Pillow) (Nugroho, 1998). These films all provide contrasts of obviously wealthy and poor characters that use linguistic signs, such as "colloquial" Indonesian tokens, or a **LOTI** in the case of those portrayed as poor, and

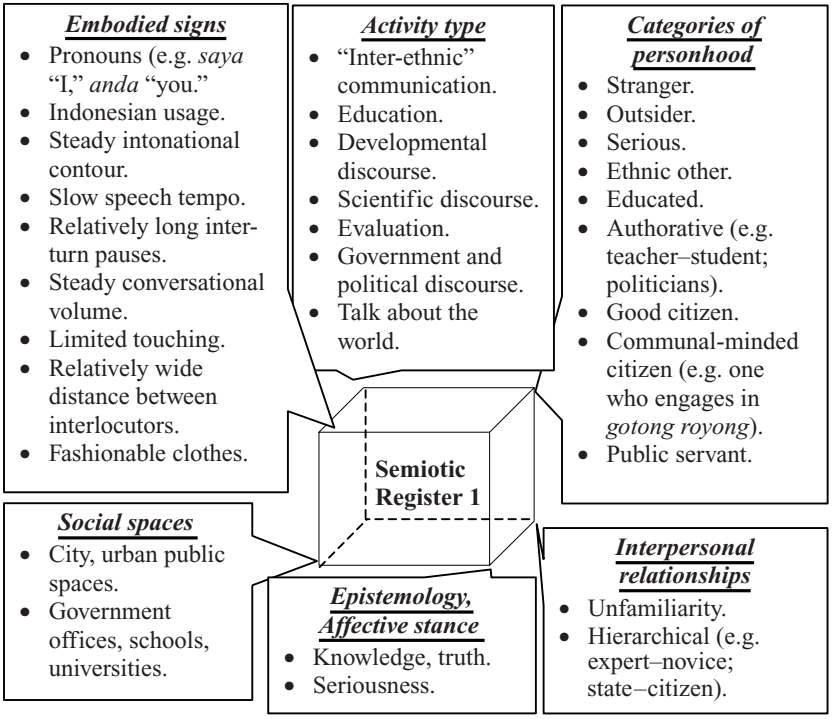

Diagram 2.1 Semiotic Register 1 (SR1)

Indonesian in the case of the more affluent characters. As such, they would lend themselves to the type of analysis carried out on Extract 2.3. Other obvious candidates for further analysis include gender, rural–urban distinctions, generational difference, and so on. However, all of these other areas will have to be treated at another time.

Diagrams 2.1 to 2.3 summarize the discussion by providing a multi-dimensional picture of these signs making up these **SRs** where the use of one sign can invoke the **SR** to which it belongs. As can also be seen in these figures, there are a number of signs shared by each **semiotic register**, for example categories of personhood in Diagrams 2.2 and 2.3. In concluding this section, I should also note that each practice of language use represented in the serials discussed seems not just a product of the series producer's imagination, but reflects actual communicative and social practices in a number of areas of Indonesia (e.g. Bruner, 1974; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Goebel, 2002), including, as we will see, the two wards that I move on to discuss in the following chapter.

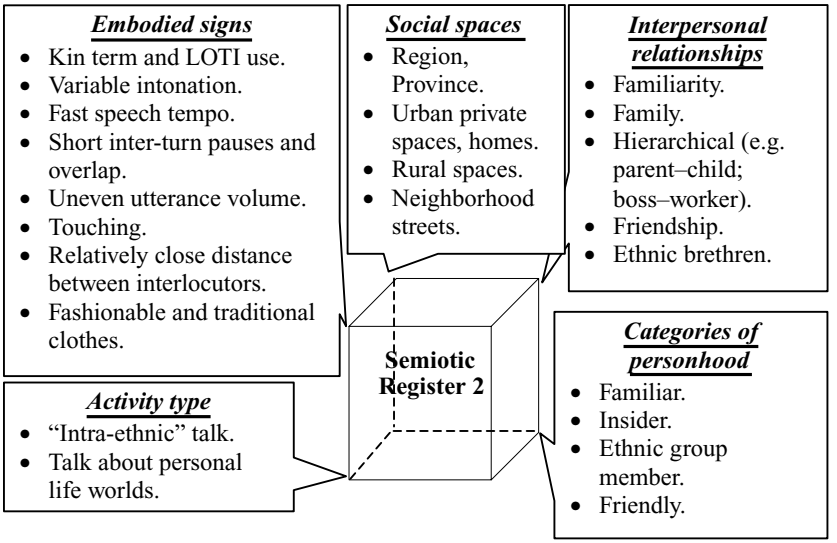

Diagram 2.2 Semiotic Register 2 (SR2)

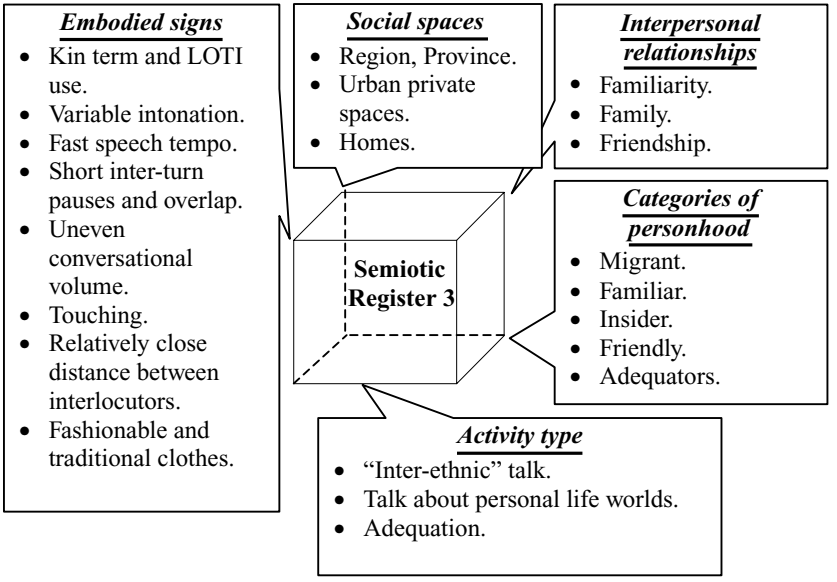

Diagram 2.3 Semiotic Register 3 (SR3)

2.5 Ethnicity and Chineseness

Those of Chinese ancestry have received considerable attention within Indonesia. Such attention came first from the Dutch colonial administration and then – after independence in 1945 – from successive governments, military factions, and the media. As historians of this heterogeneous minority have suggested, this attention across time has not only enabled the stereotyping of this minority as "deviant non-indigenous foreign others" but it has also simultaneously enabled their positioning as scapegoats in times of political and economic turmoil. During such times of turmoil they have been socially identified by rioting masses – despite being largely physically undifferentiable from other Indonesians – and subject to acts of violence against property and person.

In this section I use notions of **enregisterment** and **speech chains** used in previous sections to re-interpret historical scholarship in a way that fleshes out the semiotic processes which enabled a heterogeneous minority population of Indonesian-Chinese (amounting to little more than 2 percent of Indonesia's population) to be continually categorized as "deviant non-indigenous foreign others." In particular, I focus on a number of historical periods to point out how different global, national and local events have figured in this process, especially the perdurance of signs relating to deviance.

In a history of Indonesian-Chinese, Coppel (1983) points out that the period between 1860 and 1930 is significant because rapid increases in Chinese migrants (from an estimated 222,000 to 1,233,000) co-occurred with the extension of Dutch colonial power over the whole archipelago. In one sense, this increase made this minority more noticeable and thus different from their indigenous and colonial hosts. At the same time such differences were increasingly objectified through colonial census and segregation practices (Coppel, 1983). For example, census practices differentiated between indigenous Indonesians, foreign Orientals and Europeans (Coppel, 1983), as did laws about attire that linked dress with ethnicity (e.g. Hefner, 2001a; Purdey, 2006). Similarly, while many earlier Chinese migrants had settled in both rural and urban areas, later waves of migrants tended to settle in commercial areas within the cities. The association of Chineseness to these spaces solidified further through colonial practices relating to the use of urban spaces (e.g. Coppel, 1983; Kusno, 2000). Through the work of colonial town planners, such as Karsten, these spaces were also increasingly linked by way of their difference to other spaces with different levels of economic ability (Kusno, 2000: 129–33).

During some of this period, Chinese were also often middlemen receiving favored treatment from colonial administrators in areas of trade and commerce (Coppel, 1983). This was significant insofar as the losers in this preferential system were indigenous businessmen, who were often Muslim (e.g. Coppel,

1983; Purdey, 2006). At other times, however, Chinese were seen by colonial administrators as the cause of the poor social and economic position of indigenous Indonesians (Coppel, 1983). In addition, there was also an increase in the proportion of women migrants. This made same-group marriage more available than in the past while eventually increasing the demand for Chinese-medium schools for the children of these partnerships (Coppel, 1983). This demand came in part from a rise in Chinese nationalism in the 1920s where, in addition to the opening of exclusive schools, a Chinese language press was established as were Chinese political parties. By the 1930s, the Indonesian nationalist movement was well underway. However, those of Chinese ancestry were not given full membership in organizations associated with these movements because they were categorized as foreigners rather than Indonesians (Coppel, 1983).

In sum, during the first forty years of the twentieth century material differences and discourses of difference regularly linked Indonesian-Chinese with signs and activities, such as trading and commerce, economic advantage, space, political affiliation, language, foreigners, social class, exclusive schools, and religion. During this period they had also begun to become convenient scapegoats. While circumstances changed during the years following Indonesian independence, these signs persisted and were especially prevalent in times of economic turmoil and changing global and national political circumstances.

For example, during the struggle for Indonesian independence against the Dutch after World War II, Indonesian-Chinese were seen as largely aloof at best or Dutch collaborators at worst (Coppel, 1983). This perception of loyalty to Indonesia was again brought into question in the late 1950s after a number of events, including the implication of Chinese nationals in a Taiwanese-supported insurgency in the outer islands of Indonesia (Coppel, 1983). This led the military in various parts of Indonesia to close down the Chinese schools as sites for the socialization of insurgents, ban the economic activities of Chinese nationals, take over Chinese businesses, and encourage Chinese nationals to leave Indonesia or move to the cities (Coppel, 1983). In certain areas this led to further movement of Chinese to the perceived safety of cities. The then President Soekarno's policies of political non-alignment and nationalization also placed the Indonesian military as managers of former Dutch business interests (Coppel, 1983). These military endeavors were supported in part through partnerships with some Indonesian-Chinese, who had the economic know-how and capital to run such businesses (Coppel, 1983).

During this period various political, military and religious groups either solidified or formed, aligning themselves with either anti-communism or pro-communism (Coppel, 1983). These groups were supported in various degrees by China and Western anti-communist countries. Increasingly, Chinese nationals aligned with the emerging political power of the Indonesian communist party (PKI). On the other hand, many Indonesians of Chinese descent – who

were recognized to some extent as Indonesian citizens – aligned with right-wing forces forming their own groups, who argued for assimilationist practices. These practices included non-exclusive schooling, name changes, changes from Confucianism to other religious practices, especially Christianity, and so on (Coppel, 1983). In addition, there were continual debates about the citizenship status of Chinese in Indonesia as well as their perceived role both as a source of economic instability and as a source of much needed domestic capital and business know-how (Coppel, 1983).

Up until 1965, the influence of these right-wing groups was quite limited and Chinese language schools and presses again flourished (Coppel, 1983). However, with the attempted coup of September 1965 – which was accredited to the Indonesian communist party – the right-wing forces came into ascendency and Chinese language schools and presses were again closed (e.g. Coppel, 1983; Chua, 2004; Suryadinata, 2004a). By this time the earlier banning of trading and so on had begun to take its toll economically and Chinese increasingly bore the brunt of the blame, while also being further discriminated against (Coppel, 1983). With relationships between China and Indonesia deteriorating for various reasons, the two years after 1965 were particularly bad for Chinese nationals (Coppel, 1983). As overt racism circulated via particular speech chains or networks of anti-communist media outlets, politicians, military officials, youth groups and business people (who had Indonesian-Chinese as major competitors), so too did anti-Chinese violence (e.g. Coppel, 1983; Purdey, 2006). This period was also a time of increased centralization in the government and military which co-occurred with (or enabled) the solidification of the ideology that the Chinese represented a national problem requiring coordinated government solutions (Coppel, 1983). This ideology obtained a public face through the formation of a number of official bodies whose remit was designing and enforcing legislation relating to "the Chinese problem." For example, these bodies banned overt practices relating to Chineseness (such as public rituals) and the negative representation of Chinese ethnicity (Coppel, 1983).

Thus, during the period between 1945 and 1967 many of the signs that could be read as indicative of Chinese personhood persisted – such as trading and commerce, economic advantage, space, political affiliation, language, foreigners, social class, exclusive schooling, and religion – while other signs became associated with this category of personhood. In particular, increasingly common and widespread discourses found in networks of anti-communist and anti-foreigner/Chinese organizations helped in the association of Indonesian-Chinese with communism and opportunism. Just as importantly, their perceived position as economic exploiters of Indonesia became entrenched. This was in part due to discriminatory hiring practices in successive governments – which increasingly left trade and commerce as the only viable means by which Indonesian-Chinese could earning a living – and because they had to pay for

protection from those in power (e.g. Chua, 2004; Purdey, 2006). It was during August 1966 that the use of particular terms to refer to Chinese-Indonesian also became authorized by an anti-communist military faction of the government, who passed a resolution that Chinese should be referred to as *orang Cina* despite the term *cina* being seen as derogatory by many Indonesian-Chinese (Coppel, 1983: 89).

While much of the New Order period of government (1967–1998) was a period of economic, political and social stability with much less overt mass violence toward Chinese-Indonesians (at least until October 1996), nevertheless many negative signs associated with Chinese personhood persisted. For example, their perceived dominance of the Indonesian economy continued as did perceptions of their symbiotic relationship with those in powerful positions. This was in part due to the Soeharto government's increasing reliance on particular Indonesian-Chinese to help them jointly form large domestic corporations – which were protected under a regime of tariffs – and also the continued need of Indonesian-Chinese to seek protection of family, person and property from mass violence (e.g. Coppel, 1983; Vickers, 2005; Purdey, 2006).

For a number of reasons, however, this stability began to become undermined. In particular, the end of the cold war meant prior agreements about allowing protectionism in exchange for a staunchly non-communist regime gave way to increased pressures from the USA and other countries for trade liberalization and human rights, which also brought economic uncertainty for Indonesians (e.g. Vickers, 2005). The twenty years of sustained growth in GDP had also fostered the emergence of middle-class students who began to seek a cleaner and transparent government free of corruption and collusion (e.g. Vickers, 2005). Some of the main targets of criticism were Indonesian-Chinese who had – through the above-mentioned events, changes in citizenship laws, and regime control of forms of political representation – now been lumped into one homogenous group (e.g. Vickers, 2005; Purdey, 2006).

Such associations could be seen in representations of Indonesian-Chinese through country-wide telecasts in 1990 and 1995, where some of the wealthiest Indonesian-Chinese from large companies were asked by President Soeharto to give substantial amounts of money to co-operatives and to the poor (e.g. Chua, 2004: 474; Purdey, 2006: 22). This occurred in a context where the Indonesian development program had produced increasing disparities between the rich and the poor, with such televised events helping to ethnicize such disparities (Chua, 2004: 474; Purdey, 2006: 23–9). It is also important to note that at the time of these broadcasts most forms of media were still strictly censored, with the result that only government-approved news became news (e.g. Sen & Hill, 2000). Thus, for those who actually had access to televisions at this time, they had limited access to other uni-directional speech chains that may have provided alternative, less negative associations. One such alternative can be

found in the serial *Si Doel* (discussed in Extract 2.4). On the one hand, this series continued with typical stereotypes of Indonesian-Chinese, representing one of the characters, Ahong, as a relatively wealthy, overweight (and hence well-fed) Indonesian-Chinese, who was in business partnership with an Indonesian. On the other, Ahong was also represented as a decent person who was Muslim and who appeared to get on well with his other Indonesian acquaintances.

In trying to link these representations with their uptake, Purdey (2006: 62–74) points out that after the 1995 televised event there were a number of occurrences of mass violence in Java in July, October and December of 1996 directed towards signs associated with Chineseness. Such signs included shops, shopping malls, churches, Buddhist shrines, houses, and property in areas perceived to have high numbers of Indonesian-Chinese. While comments made by some religious leaders in three of Java's newspapers noted that the violence was not inter-religious or inter-ethnic, other commentators including military commanders seeking political mileage often blamed the victim (Purdey, 2006). This was done by linking the violence with perceptions about social inequality, opulent lifestyles, selfishness, Christianization in Islamic areas, and corrupt relations between Indonesian-Chinese and members of the military and government (Purdey, 2006). While the causes and development of such violence is outside the scope of this book, Purdey's analysis highlights that during the time of my own fieldwork Chineseness was increasingly publicly associated with signs of deviance. This occurred despite official government sanctions against negative public or private discussions of anything to do with race, religion, ethnicity, or social class (e.g. Hoon, 2006; Purdey, 2006). The public highlighting of some perduring signs relating to Chinese personhood, the government's silence, and lack of any countering of anti-Chinese sentiment characteristic of earlier New Order policy, effectively authorized both overt and covert racism. It also enabled such signs to become resources for social identification projects. Just as importantly, such discourses of deviance and the signs that indexed them also implied what should be the case, or what is considered to be normative, and what signs index normality. Diagram 2.4 summarizes this **semiotic register**. In Chapters 7 and 8 I will explore the question of interdiscursive links between these signs and their potential recontextualization in male routine monthly meetings that occurred in Ward 8 in December 1996 and January 1997.

2.6 Conclusions

This chapter started by introducing my theoretical framework for describing and understanding how processes of **enregisterment** enable certain signs to become associated with other signs to create categories of personhood and social relations, which when viewed together constitute particular **semiotic registers**. The last four sections then went on to apply this framework to the

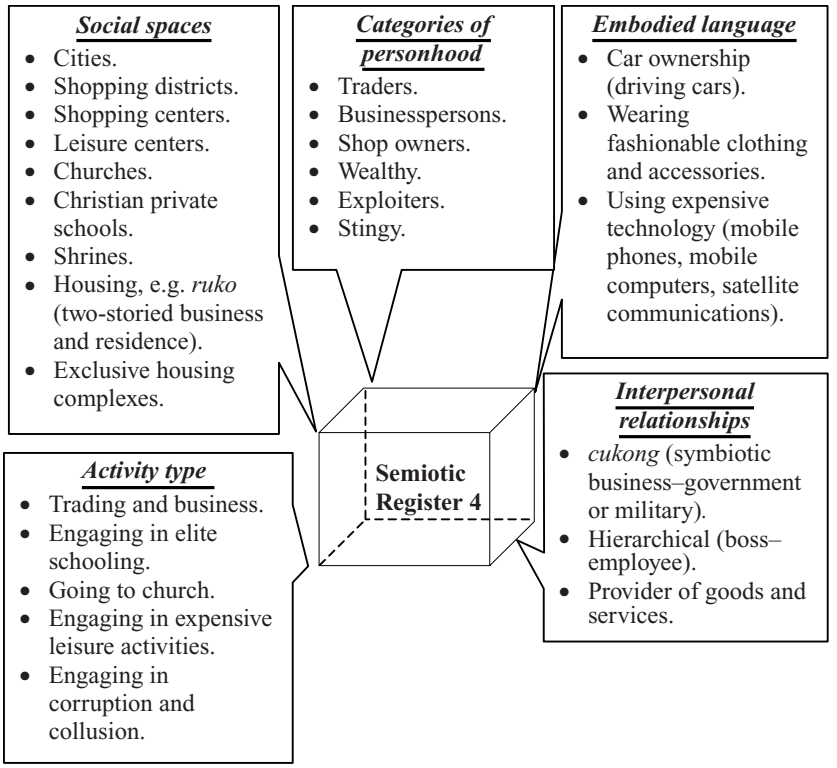

Diagram 2.4 Semiotic Register 4 (SR4)

ways in which institutional representations of language use create **SRs** linking language use to performable social categories of personhood and relationship in Indonesia. As such, these last four sections also provided the broader context to this study.

More specifically, in this chapter I sketched out four **SRs**. The first **SR** I posited (**"SR1"**) contained within its constellation of signs Indonesian, talk about the world, authority, education, knowledge, and the stranger or ethnic other. "**SR2**" contained signs, such as **LOTI** tokens and/or utterances, region, intimacy, family, ethnicity, talk about personal life worlds, and so on. "**SR3**" contained **adequation** in its constellation of signs, and as such appeared to denaturalize **SR2** in terms of language–identity relationships. "**SR4**" related to the association of Chinese personhood with particular signs, including social space, consumption practices, deviance, et cetera. While I have pointed out that the **enregisterment** of these **SRs** has often occurred as a by-product of other practices, we can also say that at the very least **SR1**, **SR2**, and **SR4**

have also been authorized by the state to a much greater extent than **SR3**. This is so because of their link with government legislation, official language policy, census practices, and mass-mediation of discourse of difference and representations of interactional practices.

In concluding, I want to make three points. The first reiterates a point made at the start of this chapter, namely that **SRs** are always emerging rather than static. Indeed, we have seen that in different times and places the constellation of signs making up **SR1** and **SR2** were not exactly the same. Thus, it is more accurate to say that what I have presented are some continuities and changes in institutionally mediated representations of language use found in political discourses, schooling, census practices, and television in different times and places. As such, at one level we may see my use of **SR1**, **SR2**, **SR3** and **SR4** as merely a convenient way of talking about complex inter-relationships. At another level, however, these categories of signs can be seen as offering resources to be appropriated and recontextualized (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) in future **semiotic encounters**. As noted in Section 2.1, in such encounters the meaning of these signs will be negotiated, changed, subsequently reappropriated, potentially reified, ad infinitum (Bakhtin, 1981). As such, the signs within each of these **SRs** represent "constituting possibilities" (cf. Mäkitalo & Säljö, 2002: 73) that Indonesians can draw upon to interpret and convey meaning in situated talk. In Chapters 5 to 9 we will have a look at this process in situated **semiotic encounters**.

My second point builds upon the first. In particular, we have seen that ethnicity as one category of personhood linked with particular patterns of linguistic sign usage can be the result or product of **semiotic register** formation over many years, a particular interaction, or a series of interactions. Using a time-frames perspective (e.g. Agha, 2007; Wortham, 2006) allows us to see identity and language as constantly changing through social interaction. It also allows us to explain continuities – that have often become the focus of essentializing discourses about particular groups and their language(s) – and the inter-relationships between more enduring and situated identity categories. In the following chapters I start to flesh out these sorts of inter-relationships as they relate to a number of members of two diverse wards of Semarang.

The third point also builds upon the last two by placing it within the context of earlier influential discussions about code choice and codeswitching (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993), which were criticized for a lack of evidence relating to relationships between linguistic forms and certain identities (e.g. Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1994, 1998; Errington, 1998b; Li Wei, 1998). While my conclusions to this chapter need to be treated as tentative, especially given the need to do more work on audience reception, nevertheless my discussion has fleshed out how Myers-Scotton's (1993) important insights about language–identity relationships might be developed as part of a more robust approach

to codeswitching, of the type proposed by Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994). For example, by framing several types of institutionally mediated representations of language–identity relationships in terms of processes of **semiotic register** formation, we can still retain Myers-Scotton's ideas about indexical relationships between groups and linguistic tokens. At the same time, the approach taken in this chapter acknowledges variation, the need to focus upon participants rather than just speakers, and the need to examine participants' **trajectories of socialization** rather than assuming that they have similar trajectories, while also reminding ourselves that we cannot assume that these links will be invoked in situated interaction (note the need to see if signs are ratified in **semiotic encounters**). Starting in Chapter 5, I will explore how we can use these insights and this data in conjunction with other ethnographic and ethnomethodological approaches to code choice and codeswitching.

3 Enregistering Local Practices and Local Spaces

3.0 Introduction

While the view of **semiotic encounters** and **semiotic register** (**SR**) formation presented thus far recognizes people's agency, we also need to be mindful of the types of processes that enable and constrain access to and participation in the social practices that figure in **semiotic register** formation. In doing so, this also further enables our aim of going beyond single-instance descriptions of **semiotic encounters** by linking such constraints with participants' **trajectories of socialization**. While not specifically focusing on talk, Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1990b, 1991, 1994) work provides a useful starting point.

In line with recent linguistic interpretations of his work (e.g. Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002; Scheuer, 2003), I understand Bourdieu's argument to imply actors' history of participation in or "trajectory" in different "fields" or social settings endows them with certain tastes, dispositions, and rules for the carrying out of their everyday practices, that is, a *habitus*. As Bourdieu (1994) argues, a person's *habitus* is not just a product of their own interactions with others but also a product of the often unseen role played by states and institutions. Consider, for example, the role of government departments in the planning and development of residential areas and the subsequent interactional patterns that evolve from these areas. In this sense, we are looking at another aspect of **enregisterment** processes, namely how different **SRs** come to contain within their category of signs different types of geographical spaces, persons/groups of people and activities.

While such a view has much in common with earlier work on the (re)production of social class and other structures (Giddens, 1973, 1984) and of the language practices of such communities in particular (Milroy, 1987; Milroy & Milroy, 1992; Milroy, 2002), I do not wish to privilege place as an indicator of social class, nor social class as the object of this study of identity. Rather, drawing on Goffman (1974, 1983), Ochs (1986, 1988, 1996), Wenger (1998), Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003, 2007), Agha (2007) and Wortham (2006), here I see participation in the social practices of these communities as indexing certain non-linguistic signs with certain locally emerging **SRs**. That

is to say, through participation in ward life – which as we shall see differs greatly between and within wards – people from these two wards also associate particular spaces with persons, activities, social relations, and so on. In this sense, we have different patterns of local-level processes of **enregisterment**.

Put slightly differently, such trajectories figure in the construction of several **communities of practice** (Wenger, 1998). According to Wenger (1998:125–6) **communities of practice** (**COP**) are characterized by practices and relationships, such as enduring inter-personal relationships; overlapping descriptions by participants about who belongs; shared knowledge about what others can do and how they can contribute; mutually defining identities; an ability to assess the appropriateness of others actions; local lore, certain styles recognized as displaying membership; a shared discourse reflecting a certain perspective on the world, et cetera.[1]

In this sense, participation in the social life of a ward enables members to form **frames of expectations** (e.g. Goffman, 1974; Tannen, 1993) about what should occur in ward spaces. At the same time, this also enables social differentiation and social identification (e.g. Goffman, 1974; Gumperz, 1982a; Bourdieu, 1990b; Irvine, 2001; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004a; Wortham, 2006; Agha, 2007). For example, when certain familiar signs occur in a semiotic encounter they may be read off or interpreted by others as indicating membership in one ward or another. In attempting to tease out these sorts of relationships, this chapter looks at some of the factors that bring people together in each of the wards and into particular settings within these wards, while also suggesting how this might relate to members' **frames of expectation** about social conduct in these wards.

Given my use of concepts such as **SRs** and **COP** the reader might also expect that in this chapter I start to present linguistic evidence. For ease of presentation and explication, however, here I will look primarily at non-linguistic signs, leaving examination of linguistic signs for the following chapters. In particular, Section 3.1 looks at some of the macro factors that help put the Indonesians I worked with in certain settings. In Sections 3.2 and 3.3 I then go on to look at each ward individually with a view to seeing how social space, economic ability, occupation, and generation all contribute to the (re)production of particular **communities of practice**, each of which are associated with a locally emerging **semiotic register**.

3.1 The genesis of local wards

In New Order Indonesia the state played a role in facilitating structures that allowed the implementation of government politics and policy at the local level. In many cases the state and its institutions contributed to the formation of groupings of people who, under other circumstances, may not have had any

Figure 3.1 Ward 5

reason to establish and maintain the types of social interaction I describe below. The role of the state can be directly seen in the two wards where I conducted this research, because they were part of a government housing estate *PERUNAS Plamongan*. Reminiscent of colonial segregation practices (e.g. Kusno, 2000), this housing estate was built to provide housing for those who fell into two broad income categories, *menengah ke atas* "middle to upper," and *menengah ke bawah* "middle to lower."

Generally, houses for each income group were geographically in the same street. Thus, income levels helped channel people into a particular space, which in this case was either middle to upper income Ward 8 or middle to lower income Ward 5. Comparatively speaking, the higher-priced houses in Ward 8 use around three times the amount of space compared with housing in Ward 5. This use of space in turn influenced the likelihood that neighbors would interact. For example, within Ward 5 the combination of the closeness of houses, their low roof design (which made them extremely hot inside), the distance of the house to the road, the absence of fences or gates, their height and width, and the length of the street, made it much more likely that one would have contact with a neighbor at some time during the day (compare, for example, Figures 3.1 to 3.3).

Inter-relationships between the state, income levels and other factors, such as different working hours, also predisposed members from each ward to being

Figure 3.2 A middle-income house in Ward 8 (situated right next to the entrance to Ward 5 shown in Figure 3.1)

Figure 3.3 The main road running through Ward 8

involved in different settings. For example, in each ward inhabitants collectively organized garbage collection, ward security, savings-loans co-operatives, and the construction and maintenance of street lighting, drainage, and so on because the state offered minimal infrastructure and social welfare. The planning and implementation of this was carried out through social activities, such as government-sanctioned and encouraged monthly ward meetings (which were also used as vehicles to convey government initiatives concerning family planning, health, et cetera), working bees, and nightly security patrols. However, different income levels meant that these tasks were organized and undertaken in different ways. This helped in the formation of multiple **COP** within these two wards.

3.2 Trajectories of socialization in Ward 5

I should start this section with the caveat that what I present will be primarily based on the male members of this ward because I was unable to gather much data on female members. There were a number of reasons for this. They included my inability to recruit a female research assistant from this ward until very late into my fieldwork. It was also the case that neither I nor my female research assistants from Ward 8 were appropriate persons for carrying out research in such a setting. For example, as a man it was inappropriate for me to become too involved with other women since most members of Ward 5 were predominantly Moslem and Islam teaches gender segregation.

Secondly, notions of status also prevented my female research assistants from Ward 8 coming to my rescue. That is to say, socializing with members from a ward of lower socio-economic status would reduce their acceptance as a member of the more affluent Ward 8.[2] Another reason was based on economic grounds. Basically, for the female members (especially the heads of household who controlled the finances of the family), becoming *akrab* "friendly" with the female members of Ward 5, or other wards for that matter, would be inviting an economic problem. For example, a more affluent person who was less socially distant could become a major source of loans and donations for less affluent acquaintances (an expectation that also appears to hold amongst the men of Ward 8, as we will see in Chapters 7 and 8).

In low-income Ward 5, members by and large were not able to pay a third party to carry out the type of infrastructure and social welfare projects noted in Section 3.1 and they thus carried out most of these tasks themselves. These activities were generally coordinated through regular monthly ward meetings, which were divided along gender lines. One male from each household, usually the male head of household (in the case of families), would attend the monthly meeting (*pertemuan bapak bapak*), which would start around 7.30 p.m. to 8.30 p.m. in the evening and continue until around 10.30 p.m. (see

Figure 3.4 A male ward meeting in a low-income ward

Figure 3.4). One female from each household, usually the mother, would attend a different monthly meeting (*arisan/pertemuan ibu ibu*), which would start at around 7.30 p.m. and finish around nine.

The youth of this ward – here youth included teenagers and those over twenty who were unmarried – were also involved in two different types of *arisan* meetings. The first was an *arisan* that discussed things such as the organization, funding and carrying out of group social outings and activities (especially inter-ward sports competitions coming up to Independence Day). Within these meetings, members also organized activities and games for Ward 5's young children, especially those to be carried out during Independence Day celebrations. The second of these monthly meetings was attended by a group of Islamic youth. Most of this group's activities included fund-raising activities where the proceeds were donated to Islamic orphanages or *pesantren* "Islamic schools" and the organization of religious activities for the youth of this ward. For example, they organized reading and interpretation of Quranic verses (*pengajian*). They were also involved in helping to organize gatherings at the end of the fasting month, where attendees would publicly forgive each others' seen and unseen past transgressions (*Halal Bihalal*).

All members of Ward 5 would regularly attend these meetings. To attend would mean one could work together as a group toward the well-being of the ward as a whole (*rukun*). Attending ward meetings also meant that one enjoyed

the company of other members of the ward and liked to interact with them frequently (*suka kumpul*). It was also the case that for those of Ward 5, these meetings were something looked forward to by most members. These meetings were seen as one more opportunity to strengthen and maintain the feeling of family (*rasa kekeluargaan*) among members of this ward. On the other hand, to not show up at these meetings would bring censure from other members of the ward. This censure included gossip about the offending party, sometimes avoidance of interaction with them, and difficulties in obtaining the necessary letters from the head of the ward. These letters are vital for obtaining one's identity card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk*, or *KTP*), which is needed for organizing one's driver's license, obtaining credit, obtaining access to electricity and water services and for carrying out other important administrative tasks.

In the formal part of the meetings attended by the adult heads of household, much of what is discussed is done in sections. That is to say, the head of the ward (*Ketua RT*) – or his wife in the case of *arisan ibu ibu* – would start the meeting off by stating the matters to be discussed and in what order. Each of the matters to be discussed would then be headed by the relevant elected member. In Ward 5 there was someone responsible for capital works (i.e. the planning, organization, and carrying out of all ward maintenance), banking and keeping track of members' monetary contributions (*iuran*),[3] immunization and health-related matters, sporting activities, youth affairs, and women's home industry professional development activities (*Dasa Wisma*).

The outcomes of these monthly meetings were often the scheduling of social activities and rosters, including:

(1) *kerja bakti* "working bees," which were generally carried out each Sunday morning by the men and youth;
(2) *ronda* or *sistim keamanan lingkungan* (*SISKAMLING*) "local security system," which was a nightly security patrol carried out by three males from around 11 p.m. until 4 a.m. Quite often this would start with or become a card or chess game involving around half of the male members of the ward;
(3) sporting or social events, especially sports competitions among the wards making up *RW2* "Neighborhood 2" leading up to Independence Day celebrations;
(4) religious and social celebrations, such as *Halal Bihalal*, the Christian *Natalan* "Christmas," and *Tujuh Belasan* "17th of August Independence Day celebrations." The preparation of food and drinks for these occasions was done by the women of this ward, while the males set up stages, lighting, tables and seating.

These meetings and their outcomes can be seen as fulfilling many of the criteria set out by Wenger (1998) when defining a **community of practice**, and as such we might say that these monthly meetings and the subsequent social activities contributed to the formation of a number of **COP** within this ward.

Figure 3.5 An evening's social activity in Ward 5

For example, the above suggests that there were at least four, namely those related to the four regular meetings among the males, females, and youth of this ward. Some of the linguistic bases of such a claim and evidence of shared knowledge will become more evident in the following chapters. Some evidence of the solidifying nature of these **COP** – and the **SRs** of which they were a part – can be seen if we look further into the *mundane* aspects of members' daily lives, such as hours of work, leisure activities, and so on. Accordingly, in the rest of this section I want to provide a view of the daily life of the male members of this ward with an eye for connecting these social practices with the broader interactional patterns within the ward.

The males of Ward 5 generally worked at one job and worked six- to eight-hour days, Monday to Friday or Monday to Saturday, which for some more devout Muslims began after getting up at around 4.30 a.m. for the first prayer of the day. After arriving home from work at around 2 p.m., many would take a nap and at around 4 p.m. start to socialize with neighbors. Indeed, the males of this ward regularly socialized at this time, continuing through until late at night with some lull in interaction between the dusk prayer (*Maghrib*) and the evening prayers (*Isya*). The types of social activities regularly included sports, such as volleyball and soccer, as well as chatting, playing the guitar, playing cards or chess, karaoke singing, playing TV games, watching TV in groups, and playing marbles. The spaces in which such interactions occurred were within certain members' houses, at the guard post (see Figure 3.5)

and the small vacant lot in which it was housed, or the small park near the entrance to the ward.

Thus far I have looked at some aspects of social life in Ward 5. The picture that is starting to emerge of social interaction among the males of this ward is one of frequent interaction outside the meetings discussed earlier. This picture of social interaction contrasts considerably with that found in the other, more affluent Ward 8, as we will see in the next section.

3.3 Trajectories of socialization in Ward 8

Members of Ward 8 were responsible for the same infrastructure and social welfare concerns as members of Ward 5. However, the social ties were much weaker among the male members of this ward. For example, in comparison to Ward 5, most of the inhabitants of Ward 8 were employed and worked longer hours than those in Ward 5. Due to this, it was often the case that the male members would not show up to the monthly ward meetings, or at least this was the reason given for their lack of attendance.

In fact, out of the twenty-three households in Ward 8, only 40 to 50 percent of the males would attend the monthly ward meeting (Ward 5 rarely fell below 95 percent). Although non-attendance of ward meetings was always seen as a problem to be discussed at these meetings (as we will see in Chapters 7 and 8), nevertheless many members also noted that it was difficult for people who had their time taken up by work and other commitments to regularly attend such meetings. In comparison to Ward 5, the formal part of these meetings was also less structured in terms of being divided up into sections. This was due in part to the non-attendance of the persons responsible for the different sections of ward activities. In fact, only Pak Joko, the person responsible for infrastructure projects, regularly attended monthly meetings. (All names are pseudonyms.[4] I also use the local practice of other person reference by affixing the term *Pak* and *Bu*, literally "Mr." and "Mrs." to proper names. I suffix an "*" to the end of the names of those who reported, or were talked about by others, as being non-Javanese.) Others, such as Pak Naryono (the head of the ward), Pak Feizel* (the treasurer), and Pak Giono (the secretary) only attended these meetings every two to three months. This was something that some members of this ward saw as amusing, while members of Ward 5 upon hearing this saw it as inconceivable.

The lack of attendance on the part of those responsible for different sections of ward activity could also have been due to the infrequent socializing between ward members outside of ward meetings. For example, there was little participation in team sports by ward members. This meant that Pak Yudianto, the person responsible for this section, had nothing to report on in terms of training times, resource usage, or financial resources required. Such a situation

meant that he had one less reason for attending ward meetings. (Another was his recent loss of employment and a disagreement with other ward members about how to best manage the security of the ward.)

Another notable difference between Ward 5 and Ward 8 was that in general members of Ward 8 had a higher income and longer working hours. Ultimately, this figured in the reallocation of tasks to hired labor instead of ward members carrying out these tasks themselves. For example, working bees and ward security patrols were virtually non-existent in Ward 8, because most members – excluding Pak Yudianto and Pak Nurholis – preferred to pay someone to clean and maintain public areas and to guard the ward at night. As noted earlier, males of this ward rarely participated in the sporting events leading up to Independence Day celebrations because they had no time to get together and train. Just as importantly, there were also no youth meetings in Ward 8, as was the case in Ward 5. As a result, Ward 8 performance in team events, such as volleyball, was particularly bad compared to Ward 5 and other lower income wards, whose members often spent their afternoons practicing.

In comparison to the males of Ward 8, however, attendance by female heads of household in monthly ward meetings was higher (usually 60 to 70 percent), despite the fact that many of these women also worked long hours. Female heads of household also participated in the organized activities more regularly than did their male counterparts. For example, many would visit sick members of the ward if hospitalized, many participated in preparation of food and drink for religious and social activities, and nearly all attended the monthly *Dasa Wisma*.

Like our earlier discussion on Ward 5, this section has explored how economic ability influences social interaction within Ward 8. In comparison to Ward 5, members of Ward 8 were affluent. Being affluent enabled members to pay others to carry out work within the ward (e.g. by employing a night watchman and paying laborers to do infrastructure work). This reduced opportunities for members to interact within Ward 8. However, it should be noted that some members of this ward, as well as most of Ward 5, did not see this as the reason for lack of interaction. Rather, they thought that the men of Ward 8 did not work together for a common goal (*rukun)* and they didn't like to socialize or spend time together (*nggak suka kumpul*). Indeed, many of the members of Ward 5 and members of other low-income wards would often comment that the people in Ward 8 were *individu*, *nggak suka kumpul*, *sendiri-sendiri*, *gué gué lu lu*, which roughly mean "individualist," "don't like socializing," "keep to themselves," "me and you and no us or we," respectively. This was not a positive comment and reflected their expectations about how social interaction should occur in a ward. As such, not being able to *rukun* and *nggak suka kumpul* represented marked behavior, or behavior to be avoided, according to the male members of Ward 5.

Figure 3.6 Social activity in the afternoon in Ward 5

As was the case with Ward 5, social organization at the ward level is of course only one of the factors that influence the formation of a **COP**. Daily routines like going to work, coming home, looking after children, shopping, cleaning, leisure activities, and so on are also factors that need to be considered when establishing how and why certain **COP** form or fail. Accordingly, in the rest of this section I take a look at some of the daily routines of members of Ward 8. I will pay particular attention to those routines that seemed to differ from those in Ward 5.

In comparison to Ward 5, most of the male members of Ward 8 were employed and worked long hours, leaving for work early (at around 7 a.m.) and often only returning home at around 6 p.m. Most of the female heads of household also had paid employment and worked similar hours. For the mothers and fathers who did return home earlier, they often spent the time until the evening prayer (*Maghrib*) playing with their children, tending their garden, or wetting down the dust on the busy unpaved road that ran in front of their house. As often as not, however, these tasks were carried out by a hired maid while their employer would retire to the confines of their home.

Compared with the hive of activity and social interaction found in Ward 5, in the mornings and afternoons Ward 8 could be likened to a ghost town, with little if any interaction between neighbors. (Consider, for example, Figures 3.6 and 3.7, which were taken in the afternoon after 4 p.m.) There were two exceptions to the above. The first were a number of small groups

Figure 3.7 Social activity in the afternoon in Ward 8

of mothers who regularly met while shopping each morning with a mobile produce seller. The second exception was those mothers who didn't have paid employment and who visited some of their female neighbors or helped each other by taking turns at accompanying one another's children to school.

After *Maghrib* interaction did not increase, as was the case in Ward 5. In fact, interaction with neighbors was at its lowest in the evening after *Maghrib* with many preferring to watch television and/or spend time with their family doing other activities inside the home. (In Ward 5, watching television was not a regular activity because few households had televisions.) Some of the Muslim members of Ward 8, such as Pak Abdurrahman*, Pak Feizel* and Pak Taufik and myself spent the hour after *Maghrib* reading verses from the *Al-Qur'an*, or if we had prayed at the Mosque, conversing with others until *Isya*. For some of these folk, including Pak Taufik, Pak Abdurrahman* and myself, Thursday evenings could be considered the most intense time of social interaction. During this time we attended *Al-Qur'an* verse reading and interpretation sessions lasting until about 10 p.m. either at the Mosque or at another house in this ward or a neighboring ward.

Apart from these relatively infrequent interactions, however, within Ward 8 one was hesitant to visit neighbors at the best of times and to do so after 7 p.m. was not really appreciated. If one had some pressing business with a neighbor, then you would need to be able to read the signs. That is to say, if the front gate and door were open and the curtains were not drawn, then it was safe to assume

that you could call in on your neighbor. On the other hand, if none of these conditions were evident, then it was best not to visit. In Ward 8, it was very often the case that after about 8 p.m. the second of these situations applied.

Within Ward 8, social activity on Saturday evenings also contrasted considerably with that found in Ward 5. For example, most members either visited friends or relatives who lived outside of this ward, went to the shopping malls, or watched television. The exception to this would be if there was either a badminton or chess match on between Ward 8 and another ward in the inter-ward competitions leading up to Independence Day celebrations. Here a couple of members of the ward (usually the youth) would participate in these mainly non-team events. Unlike Ward 5, where there would always be a group of ten to twenty ward members watching such games, spectators from Ward 8 were few (numbering only three or four people).

Thus far, this section has discussed some of the major factors that influenced social interaction and with it the formation of **COP** within Ward 8. The picture that emerges is one of infrequent interaction among the male members of this ward (both the youth and the male heads of household), and more frequent interaction among the female heads of household. Initially, we might say that since members of this ward worked long hours, they did not have time to participate in ward activities. Certainly, this was often used as a reason to explain why most of the male members of this ward did not interact with the other male members. There were, of course, other reasons for lack of interaction among certain members of Ward 8, including generation, gender, and religious affiliation.

For example, Ward 8 had a larger number of females in their teens and twenties than Ward 5. To some extent this influenced interaction with others of their own age, particularly males. Religious conviction was a determining factor here. This was so because mixing freely with members of the other sex outside of religious events or school was not looked upon positively by many Moslems. The few male and female youth in this ward could be described as being devout in their religious beliefs and as a result did not interact with members of the opposite sex. In addition to this, and in contrast to Ward 5, the youth of Ward 8 did not have a monthly *arisan*, nor were there any religious youth groups, perhaps because there was no dominant religion among the youth, with about half being Moslems and the other half being Christians.

As noted, many of the internal migrants in this ward also preferred the company of relatives, friends, or religious groups outside of the ward. Their car ownership also meant that they could do this with much more ease than those in Ward 5, most of whom did not own a car or motorbike. It was also the case that some families from Christian backgrounds kept dogs. This did not facilitate interaction with some Moslem neighbors, who avoided contact

with dogs. In fact, one of the problems that occurred in Ward 8 was because our immediate neighbors, the Manurungs, owned two dogs that were allowed to roam the streets. One of these dogs enjoyed chasing and nipping at people who passed by. On a number of occasions the person who came into contact with the dog was a Moslem member of this ward. For them, this meant they had to carry out a number of time-consuming cleansing rituals (body and clothing) before they could pray again. Since the owners never attended ward meetings – a point often complained about before this incident – the ward members could not voice their disapproval. Moreover, while a number of ward members had privately noted the problem to the owners of the dogs, these complaints were not addressed (some saying this was because these people felt they were of higher status than their neighbors and hence did not like to be told what to do). This problem was solved by two ward members who took matters into their own hands and covertly removed the offending dog.

3.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have set out some of the conditions which contributed to the genesis of two different wards. In doing so, I pointed to the associated patterns of social interaction within each ward. In particular, I discussed how the Indonesian state had helped create living spaces based upon economic ability, resulting in the construction of Ward 8 and Ward 5. As we further examined these two wards and the people who lived there, certain patterns of interaction seemed to emerge. For example, social interaction in these two wards seemed to be expedited or hindered by architecture and ward layout. Looking at each ward individually, we saw that limited ward infrastructure coupled with economic ability continued to have an influence on patterns of social interaction within these two wards, as did work hours, religion, and the gender make-up of the youth cohort in each ward. Some of the broad patterns of social interaction in these two wards included frequent interaction among the males of Ward 5, relatively frequent interaction among the females of Ward 8 and relatively infrequent interaction among the males of Ward 8.

Put in terms of **communities of practice**, **trajectories of socialization** and **semiotic register** formation, we can say that the ward inhabitants' different trajectories within these wards produced different **communities of practice**. This process was accompanied by inhabitants' access to different signs, all of which figured in the formation of **locally emerging semiotic registers**. Diagrams 3.1 to 3.3 illustrate the types of signs that are potentially indexed to these **semiotic registers**. In the next chapter I start to cover some of the

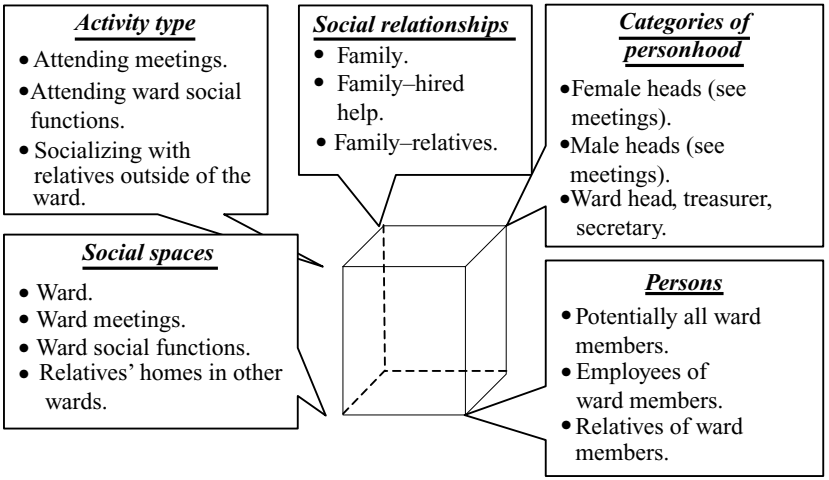

Diagram 3.1 Locally emerging semiotic register among males of Ward 8

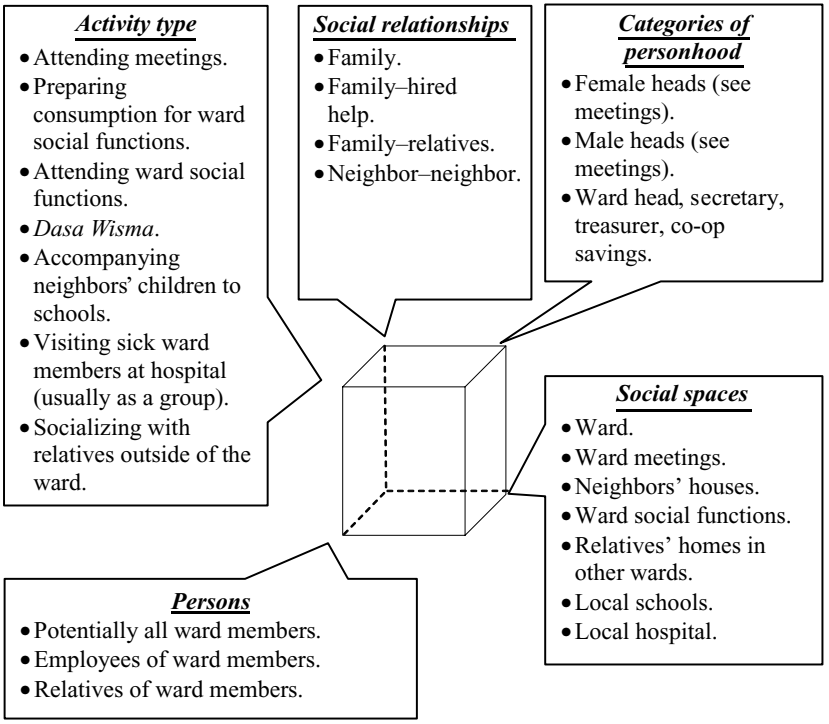

Diagram 3.2 Locally emerging semiotic register among females of Ward 8

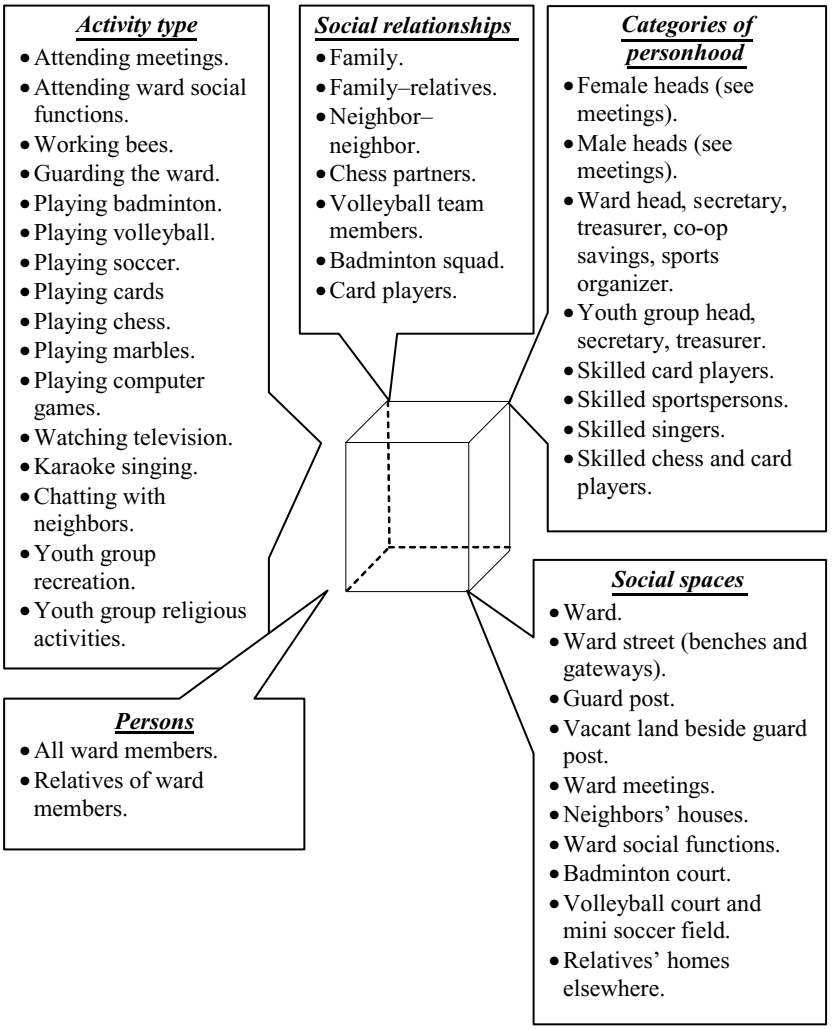

Diagram 3.3 Locally emerging semiotic register among males of Ward 5

linguistic signs that were associated with these **SRs**. What stands out in these diagrams is that as we move from the men of Ward 8 to the men of Ward 5 we see an increase in the number of signs associated with each box, which is largely a product of increasingly routine interactions among ward members. As we will see in the following chapters, this routine interaction also appears to figure in patterns of linguistic sign exchange.

4 Linguistic Signs, Alternation, Crossing, and Adequation

4.0 Introduction

In work in multilingual settings the use of linguistic signs in **semiotic encounters** is often talked of in terms of code choice and codeswitching. Arguably, the most well known approaches are those offered by Gumperz (1982a) and Myers-Scotton (1993). Both approaches see identity as a central factor in language choice and codeswitching. For example, Gumperz (1982a: 66) based much of his approach on the perceived association of different languages with the identities of in-groups or "we" and out-groups or "they", although he does note that such relationships do not predict how interactional codeswitching may progress. Myers-Scotton's (1993) markedness model sees participants' motivations for choosing one code instead of another as reflecting wider societal relationships between identity and language. In her approach, the analyst is able to interpret participants' code choice if they know participants' social identity in terms of such things as ethnicity.

However, Myers-Scotton's approach has been problematized by those working in ethnographic and ethnomethodological paradigms (e.g. Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1994; Li Wei, 1998). For example, Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994) have noted its over-reliance on Chomskian mentalist concepts of competence, its lack of attention to ethnographically recoverable social factors influencing access to codes, its over-simplification of language–identity relationships (especially the reliance on imagined place-based ethno-linguistic categories), and the need to define community and the associated assumptions of sharedness of experience in any community. In a later paper (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998), they continue this critique by arguing that this approach is based on the false assumption that those who codeswitch must be bilingual. In other words, they criticize the ideological assumption that those who codeswitch are able to carry out monolingual conversations in either of the two languages and thus have a choice.

Such problems also relate to classification more generally (e.g. Swigart, 1992; Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Franceschini, 1998; Maschler, 1998; Oesch-Serra, 1998). For example, Swigart (1992: 83) has demonstrated that sometimes

what appears to be codeswitching may in fact be a new variety. Similarly, Franceschini (1998: 56–7) points out that the ability to switch between two or more languages can be acquired without having competence in both languages. Hence, in some contexts it might even be better to argue that what is categorized as codeswitching is in fact a separate code in itself (e.g. Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998).

This further problematizes the underlying assumptions of identity-based approaches to codeswitching, namely that linguistic token usage can be interpreted solely by recourse to indexical relationships with particular identity categories (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993). Indeed, research inspired by ethnomethodology has been at pains to highlight that there is no one-to-one relationship between a certain identity and language use (e.g. Auer, 1995; Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998a; Sebba & Wootton, 1998). Much of the work coming out of this tradition argues that we must not assume that in interaction participants alternate between languages to index identities, power relations, et cetera (Li Wei, 2005: 182), nor assume that social structures determine certain patterns of language choice (Gafaranga, 2005). Rather, we "must be able to demonstrate how such things as identity, attitude and relationship are presented, understood, accepted, rejected, or changed in the process of interaction" (Li Wei, 2005: 182).

While this work underscores the idea that identity is not forever indexically fixed to particular groups of linguistic forms, such analyses also often only present one or two encounters from a particular "speech situation" (Hymes, 1972a). Rampton's (1995a, 1995b, 1998) work on **crossing** and Wortham's (2006) work on **processes of social identification** have demonstrated the utility of taking a temporal approach and going beyond the "speech event" (see Hymes, 1972a) to explore how social identification is also reliant upon the re-use of signs – linguistic and otherwise – across speech events. Examination of such processes allows for a more holistic view of identity formation which shows how some linguistic signs begin to be associated with other signs – formulating or **enregistering** constellations of signs, that is, **semiotic registers** (**SRs**) – which over time become indexical of certain identities.

Part of the aim of this chapter, then, is to treat the above issues as questions to be answered in the context of my research setting in Semarang. These questions can be rephrased as follows: (1) How can we categorize participants' language choices? (2) Do participants have a choice as to which forms they use? (3) How can we interpret such language choices? In Section 4.1 I start to flesh out my approach to categorizing language alternation. Although, as we shall see, answers to the second question help with such categorization.

I address the second question in Section 4.2 by seeking to establish whether members of these wards who used a particular lexical token (as one sign) also knew alternative signs and hence actually had a choice. Put slightly differently,

I wish to establish if participants could conduct monolingual conversations in a number of varieties if they so chose. In doing so, I also (re)introduce the members of these wards. As one would expect, the lexical forms generally observed were those stereotypically associated with *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) and *krámá* Javanese (KJ) and Indonesian (I).

That lexical forms associated with Javanese and Indonesian are widely known and used by both those who report being Javanese and by non-Javanese then raises other questions. In particular, to the extent that certain members do not happen to know groups of particular forms, why did they fail to learn them? I start to address this question in Section 4.3, which looks at issues of members' length of stay in these wards as well as the background of their spouse. I argue that neither of these factors alone appears to have much influence on whether or not a person learns a particular group of linguistic signs. In doing so, I begin to address the question of how to interpret particular linguistic sign choices.

I should also note that "thicker" (see Geertz, 1973) interpretations of individual instances of alternation and their relationship to participants' **trajectories of socialization** will follow in the next five chapters. In these chapters I will bring in more conversational data, ethnographic data about participants' histories of interaction, information about perduring **semiotic registers** of the type discussed in Chapter 2, and a comparison of patterns of language alternation between different **communities of practice** within these two wards.

4.1 Classification of lexical signs

Whether undertaken by the researcher, the "native" assistant or the researched, transcription can be described as an ideological act (e.g. Edwards & Lampert, 1993; Haviland, 1996; Urban, 1996; Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, 1997; Roberts, 1997; Ochs, 2006 [1979]). My transcription and classification of language forms in the work I present in this book are no different. For example, initial classification was based on the extent to which lexical forms approximated or deviated from standard forms found in dictionaries (e.g. Echols & Shadily, 1992; Prawiroatmojo, 1989, 1993), and other descriptions (e.g. Uhlenbeck, 1978; Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Errington, 1985).

Where Javanese is concerned, I initially drew upon earlier descriptions of speech levels, which included *ngoko* (NJ), *madyá* (MJ) and *krámá* Javanese (KJ). These levels were reportedly identifiable by the presence or absence of particular words and affixes (e.g. Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982: 29). Table 4.1 provides examples of different vocabulary sets as well as examples of the affixation of morphemes and variation in phonemes. In addition to the main vocabulary sets there are two others. The first, *krámá inggil* (KI), literally "high Javanese," consists of words and terms of address that honor or elevate the addressee and his or her actions (e.g. Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo,

Table 4.1 *Examples of words and affixes indexical of Javanese speech levels*

Krámá	*Madyá*	*Ngoko*	Gloss
meniko	niki	iki	this
	niku	kuwi	that
	niko	kaé	that over there
menopo	nopo	opo	what
wonten	enten	ono, nèng	there is/are, in/at/on
badhé	ajeng	arep	will/wish/intend

Adapted from Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982: 30)

(a) Interlocutors familiar and of same status ***NGOKO*** ⟷ ***NGOKO***

(b) Interlocutors unfamiliar and of same status ***KRÁMÁ*** ⟷ ***KRÁMÁ***

(c) ***NGOKO*** used by status superior (in terms of age, occupation, education, wealth, noble background)

KRÁMÁ used by status inferior (often plus self-effacing ***KRÁMÁ*** **ANDHAP** forms and other-elevating ***KRÁMÁ*** **INGGIL** forms)

Diagram 4.1 Symmetrical and asymmetrical exchanges of Javanese

1982; Errington, 1988). The second set, called *krámá andhap* (KA), consisted of words that humble the speaker and their actions. Although, as Errington (1988) has pointed out, using KA also raises the interlocutor, while using KI humbles the user.

While Javanese is of continual interest to linguists (e.g. Ewing, 2005), what seems to make the study of Javanese so fascinating to many scholars is the asymmetrical exchanges of the type shown in Diagram 4.1 (e.g. Geertz, 1960; Uhlenbeck, 1978; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Siegel, 1986; Keeler, 1987; Errington, 1988; Berman, 1998). Even so, as Bax's (1974), Smith-Hefner's (1983), Errington's (1985), and Robson's (1985) studies have shown, the types of symmetrical exchanges shown in (a) and (b) of Diagram 4.1 may be just as common as the more widely known and studied asymmetrical exchanges in (c).

In later analysis, Errington (1998b) has noted that such distinctions are often framed in terms of *básá* "polite" and *kasar* "basic," with the former encompassing MJ, KJ, KI and KA forms and the latter covering NJ forms. For example, *ngoko* is described as the language of the self, thought, and as the language used among familiars and friends. It is also used in alternation

with *básá* to indicate that the speaker is modeling others' speech or thought (Errington, 1998b). With a vocabulary of around one thousand words, *básá* forms have been described as the language used among non-familiars (e.g. Bax, 1974; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Smith-Hefner, 1983; Errington, 1985), the language of formal speeches and that used for conversations amongst or to nobility (e.g. Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982: 17–39; Errington, 1985, 1988), and the language which presupposes a different type of social relationship than implied by NJ usage (e.g. Errington, 1998b).

The above points to a diversity of usage and meta-pragmatic commentary about usage. Indeed, as a number of scholars have noted (e.g. Bax, 1974; Errington, 1985), many Javanese consultants often only make the distinction between *bahasa sehari-hari* "everyday language" and *básá* "cultured or polite language." This very much explains my own problems with the categorization of linguistic tokens. For example, different members of the two wards – themselves coming from different areas of Central Java – classified the same forms differently. Consider, for example, Extract 4.1, which represents talk that occurred in a female ward meeting.

Extract 4.1 Codeswitching, codemixing or a new code?

1	Pak	Indro	sampai	Pak	Jati	Pak	Tobing	Pak	Yuli
	Mr.	Indro	until	Mr.	Jati	Pak	Tobing	Pak	Yuli
	Pak Indro down to Pak Jati, Pak Tobing, Pak Yuli [all of them] are								
2	podo	angèl	waé	orangé			nggak	bayar	tenan.
	same	hard	just	Person + cohesive reference			don't	pay	really
	just as difficult.They don't pay ever.								

The person who spoke this utterance classified it as *ngoko* Javanese. However, other language consultants from this ward pointed out that it was a mixture of Javanese and Indonesian. For example, in line 1 there is the Indonesian form *sampai* "until" and in line 2 *ngoko* Javanese forms *podo* "same," *angel* "difficult/hard," *waé* "just." Interestingly, the Indonesian form of *sampai* has a *ngoko* Javanese equivalent, *tenan*. Given this speaker's self-classification as a Javanese (whose first language was Javanese) we might expect that she knew this form.

Of equal interest is her use of an Indonesian form *orang* "person" affixed with "*é*." This is a Javanese form, which (among other functions) is used to indicate an utterance's relationships with the subject of prior talk (line 2). The Indonesian form does have a Javanese form *wong*, which this speaker was recorded using in other contexts. In lines 1 and 2 there are also forms that could be equally classified as Javanese or Indonesian for example *nggak*

"no/not/don't" and the kin terms used to talk of other people, namely *Bu* and *Pak* used to address women and men respectively.

More generally, there are words common to both languages. Indeed, numerous Indonesian words have been adopted from Javanese, and the reverse is also true (e.g. Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Errington, 1998b). Similarly, there are many similarities in syntax and affixation systems (e.g. Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Errington, 1998b). Moreover, the introduction of new language forms into Indonesian also begs the question of whether these items should also be classified as Javanese or other regional languages because of their new status. For example, words such as *resmi* "official" and *kantor* "office" don't have any Javanese equivalents in Indonesian-Javanese bilingual dictionaries, which present them as both Indonesian and Javanese (e.g. Sudaryanto, 1991).

In attempting to address some of these issues, Gafaranga's and Torras's ethnomethodological approach to language alternation provided some insights into how we might go about classifying language alternation practices (e.g. Gafaranga, 2001; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002; Torras & Gafaranga, 2002). In particular, Gafaranga's and Torras's (2002) framework provides some *initial* means for the categorization of situated talk. I have stressed *initial* because the categories – as I use them in the following chapters – do leak. This is especially the case when sign usage is viewed as part of a social practice linked with prior and future interactions. Consider, for example, Extract 4.2. In line with some interpretations of ethnomethodology, we should not bring in any outside context, including information about participant identities or external classification of their language choices (e.g. Gafaranga 2001). I have used the same conventions for indicating pause, prosody and tempo as those used in Section 2.4.

Extract 4.2 Limiting contextual information

Participant A		
1	@bu tobing@ #kui loh# .	That Mrs. Tobing, asked by
2	+ditarik?+ wong kan? ngga pernah	someone [for contributions she] can
3	ketemu yo ndhéwéké karepé kih? .	never be found, yeah [her]
4	lepas ngono loh soko tanggung	individual wish is to not take any
5	jawab rt iki ndhéwéké kih #emoh# =	ward responsibilities, [she] is not interested.
Participant B		
6	=	
7	lho ojo manggon nèng kéné {(???)	Well don't live here (???) (???)
Participant A		
8	{anu opo	Ah what is it,
9	ndhéwéké ora tahu teko loh?. kan?	[she] has never shown
10	ya nggak boleh ok' =	up, [you] aren't allowed.

Without any conversation-external information, we can still begin to analyze the talk in Extract 4.2. For example, there appears to be some identity work going on with Bu Tobing* being identified as someone who is irresponsible in relation to the ward. However, there is no talk about participants' language choices. Essentially, this means that for this interaction I cannot pursue matters of whether and to what extent language choice figured in meaning-making in this interaction. Unfortunately, this situation was very common, with there being no explicit meta-talk about language choice in any of my sixty hours of recordings. When I asked research assistants to transcribe and classify the language used in the transcripts, however, they had clear ideas about which languages where being used in interaction. Although, as noted when looking at Extract 4.1, not every research assistant or participant agreed on others' classifications.

In conversations and semi-formal interviews outside of these recordings, participants were also quite articulate about the existence of language varieties and their interactional meanings. This seemed to confirm or build upon my own biases on this issue at the time. Indeed, subsequently my reading about **semiotic registers** – which came much later but has appeared in Chapter 2 – also suggested the need to draw upon but not rely on Gafaranga's and Torras's (2002) methods for categorization. Indeed, some treatments of ethnomethodology suggest that in order to carry out ethnomethodological analysis, the researcher needs to use external material accessed by way of their long period of immersion in contexts involving participants (e.g. Moerman, 1988; Francis & Hester, 2004; Ten Have, 2007). Thus, the reanalysis I present below also draws upon conversation-external information to categorize linguistic signs.

For example, I use participants' and ward members' information about participant identities together with my research assistants' classification of signs, information about perduring **SRs** of the type discussed in Chapter 2, my own knowledge about these signs, and a number of Javanese and Indonesian dictionaries to reanalyze Extract 4.2. I use the following transcription conventions to represent these understandings. For economy here and in the following chapters I substitute "linguistic signs stereotypically associated with Indonesian" and "linguistic signs stereotypically associated with *ngoko* and *krámá* Javanese" with "Indonesian," "*ngoko* Javanese" and "*krámá* Javanese" respectively. I will use the term **medium**, in Gafaranga and Torras's (2002) sense, to generally refer to Indonesian, *ngoko* Javanese and *krámá* Javanese as defined above. This helps me separate linguistic sign usage in actual interactional practice from ideologies about such practices, which are often referred to as "language." Indonesian is in plain font, *ngoko* Javanese is in **bold**, and ***bold italics*** indicates those forms that can be classified as either *ngoko* Javanese or Indonesian.

Extract 4.3 Reanalysis: alternation as the medium and codeswitching

Participant A		
1	@bu tobing@ **kui *loh*** . +ditarik?+	**That** Mrs. Tobing, asked by
2	**wong** kan? ngga pernah ketemu **yo**	**someone** [for contributions she] can
3	+**ndhéwéké karepé kih**? . lepas	never be found, **yeah** [her]
4	>**ngono *loh***>+ **soko** tanggung jawab	**individual wish is to not take any**
5	rt **iki ndhéwéké kih #emoh#** =	ward responsibilities, [she] **is not interested**.
Participant B		
6	= **lho**	**Well**
7	**ojo manggon nèng kéné** {(???)	**don't live here** (???) (???)
Participant A		
8	{**anu opo**	**Ah what is it**,
9	**ndhéwéké ora tahu teko *loh***?.	[she] **has never shown up**,
10	kan? ya nggak boleh ***ok***' =	[you] aren't allowed.

In drawing upon Gafaranga's and Torras's (2002) categories I wish to categorize the talk in lines 1–5 as **sign alternation as the medium**. In this case we have two sets of signs stereotypically associated with two varieties (e.g. NJ and I). This category seems appropriate for two reasons. The first is that neither the participants nor other members of this ward comment about the appropriateness of alternating between *ngoko* Indonesian and Javanese here or in settings outside of this one. The second reason is that this alternation appears to occur within intonational units: that is, in an utterance surrounded by pauses (indicated by a period "." or a number in brackets). As such, **sign alternation as the medium** resembles the following pattern (adapted from Auer, 1995): AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2 (the upper case letters represent a particular medium and the numbers indicate speaker 1 and 2).

The above extract also provides an example of a second category that I will borrow from Gafaranga and Torras (2002), namely **codeswitching**. This category is used in cases where one medium is followed by a pause (e.g. lines 8–9) and then followed by a different medium, as can be seen in line 10. **Codeswitching** can be illustrated with the pattern: A1 A2 B1 A1 A2 (adapted from Auer, 1995). The third category that I borrow from Gafaranga and Torras (2002) is that of **medium repair**. In determining whether a particular alternation represents **medium repair**, I again take a sequential view of talk to see if a particular alternation leads to the choice of one particular medium or another, as can be seen in Extract 4.4 below.

As can be seen in Extract 4.4, we have the situation where participants both use different **mediums** (lines 11–23). Following this Bu Naryono changes her **medium** of interaction from *ngoko* Javanese to Indonesian, which from this piece of transcript appears to be Bu Zainudin's preferred **medium** (here preference is meant in the CA sense). **Medium repair** can thus be illustrated

Extract 4.4 Medium repair

Bu Naryono		
11	= %>**jenengé**	***Hem* that's called inconveniencing**
12	**ngerépotké tonggo** . ***kok* ngono**	**the neighbors**, **that's what doing**
13	**kuwi #jenengé#**'>% =	**that is called**.
Bu Zainudin*		
14	= ***ya*** soalnya	***Yeah*** the problem was at that time
15	***engga*** ada siapa siapa waktu itu	there was ***not*** anybody around Bu
16	{ sih bu' haha	haha
Bu Naryono		
17	{ >***lah* salahé wong gowo**	***Yeah*** [well] **that's the problem of the**
18	**barang ra nggowo** { **wong piyé**'>	**person who brought the goods**, [gee how stupid] **not** [also] **bringing someone with** [to do this].
Bu Zainudin*		
19	{ ***ya*** adik saya	***yeah*** my younger brother felt sorry for
20	kasihan ***engga*** apa apa ditolong.	them [he thought] "it ***doesn't*** matter
21	terus dia bilang katanya ini (.3)	I'll help," and he said they will
22	resminya sih mulai pindah tanggal	formally move in on the 22nd of
23	dua dua #desember katanya'#=	December, is what they said.
Bu Naryono		
24	=	[They] have yet paid, just a deposit.
25	belum bayar ok itu' . #baru uang	
26	muka#	

with the following pattern: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1//A2 A1 A2 A1 (adapted from Auer, 1995). In some cases, however, the assigning of sign alternation to this category is problematic. For example, if we look back just one turn (as done in Extract 4.5), then we see that Bu Zainudin* has actually used two *ngoko* Javanese suffixes: *é* in *soalé* "because/the issue is" on line 5 and *ké* in *bawaké* "to bring something for someone" on line 9.

Extract 4.5 Leaking categories, crossing and adequation

Bu Zainudin*		
1	***toh*** bu (.2) itu katanya kan adik	***Heh*** Bu he said [my] younger brother
2	(.1) itu ***loh*** bu adik saya itu? kan	***right***, [I] mean my younger brother
3	waktu pertama kali bawa barang	right, the first time when goods were
4	itu minta itu minta tolong sama	brought [by truck to next door], [they]
5	adik saya **soalé *engga*** ada laki	asked asked for help from my brother
6	laki yang mau ngangkut ngangkut	**because** there were ***no*** men to lift and
7	nurunin itu adik saya ditolong'	unload [the truck]. [So] my younger
8	(.2) dia (.3) dia ngangkut itu	brother helped, he, he lifted [their
9	malam malam itu **bawaké** ke	merchandise of the truck] and **carried**
10	ruma:h? terus dia =	**it** into the house. And he.

On the one hand we might suggest that Bu Naryono's talk on lines 11–13 is also an example of **medium repair**, because Bu Zainudin* appears to have used some Javanese and Indonesian and thus potentially given Bu Naryono a choice about her own interactional medium. However, if we take into account some ethnographically recoverable information about participant identities, then we can come to a different categorization. For example, Bu Zainudin* does not self-identify, nor do other participants identify her, as an ethnic Javanese. Yet she uses a linguistic sign that is enregistered with Javanese ethnicity, among other things (see e.g. Diagram 2.2). Thus, we might initially suggest that this is an instance of what Rampton (1995a, 1999) has termed **crossing** or **styling the other**.

Such an interpretation also fits with what we know about Bu Zainudin's competence in Indonesian, as I will discuss in the following section, where it is clear she could have used the Indonesian suffixes (respectively *nya* and *kan*) just as easily as the Javanese ones. What complicates this somewhat is that she could also have used *ngoko* Javanese forms or *krámá* Javanese forms instead of Indonesian ones if she so chose. For example, it is fairly clear from her responses from line 14 onwards that she understands *ngoko* Javanese forms and interprets this talk as being addressed to her and requiring a response. That is, she interpreted Bu Naryono's talk as not just addressed to the Javanese participants present in this speech situation.

Just as importantly, in interactions outside of this setting Bu Zainudin* regularly used Javanese with those with whom she shared a long history of interaction. In other words, in these other settings she engaged in the frequent pursuit of linguistic sameness: that is, **adequation** (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004b, 2004a). In the following twenty-four months I also had the opportunity to observe Bu Zainudin* in subsequent interactions with Bu Naryono where they both increasingly moved towards habitual exchanges of *ngoko* Javanese forms. This was facilitated by forces described in Chapter 3, where these participants regularly shared social spaces as part of their membership in a particular socio-economic setting (e.g. Sweetland, 2002). In this sense, the use of *ngoko* Javanese suffixes in Extract 4.5 can be seen as part of an ongoing process of learning and – as we will see in the next two chapters – of becoming part of a **COP** and its associated **SRs**, albeit ones with no end point (cf. Rampton, 1995b: 506).

4.2 Lexical form knowledge and use

This section mainly looks at which lexical forms are commonly known and used by members of Ward 8 and Ward 5. By examining this I can address the issue raised in Section 4.1 about whether members who used **LOTI** lexical forms also knew their Indonesian equivalents and hence had a choice. I should note that the notion of **SRs** discussed in Chapter 2 makes the notion of "equivalence"

quite difficult. Even so, pursuing this line of argument allows me to address some of the issues raised in the previous section as well as many that will be raised in subsequent chapters. I start by considering to what extent members of Ward 8 and Ward 5 know a range of signs and can thus choose among them. To a great extent the evidence for this knowledge will come from observations of what lexical forms the members actually used in interaction, so these same sections will also provide an introduction to what signs are used in the two wards, although not the basis for choosing which sign to use when, where, to whom, and so on.

As one would expect, the lexical forms generally observed were *ngoko* and *krámá* Javanese (NJ and KJ respectively) and Indonesian (I). I shall consider members of Ward 8, before then turning to Ward 5. (I should first note that non-Javanese migrants of these two wards also knew other lexical forms associated with a **LOTI** other than Javanese, but I will not explore this type of usage.) The information on each of these groups can be presented quite briefly, but in each case I back it up with a table characterizing the evidence on which these claims are based. At this point I should also note that while these tables present a static view of some of the linguistic signs used in this ward, they are actually better characterized as the result of my process of sedimenting, via observation across a number of years, members' sign usage in habitual interactions. Evidence for the use of these signs is placed under the three columns to the right of the first column which has participant names. Those who have self-reported as being non-Javanese (and who other members of these wards characterize as such) are indicated by one asterisk "*" affixed to their name. I use two asterisks after the name of those non-Javanese who self-report or were reported as being of Chinese ancestry. Proper names are preceded with the terms of address *Bu* "Mrs." and *Pak* "Mr."

There were also non-Javanese and Javanese members of these wards who were never recorded or observed using one or more of the groups of signs stereotypically associated with Javanese and Indonesian where they might have been expected to show such usage. In the case of the non-Javanese, I have reason to believe that they didn't in fact know these signs. In the case of Javanese members, I am less certain. I have left the column blank for these people to indicate my lack of evidence. It is also important to note that the data in this and later chapters does not actually cover all members of these two wards, but of course the aim of this book does not actually require this. Since my main concern is with inter-ethnic relations it is sufficient that I was able to observe interactions involving most non-Javanese in these two wards. The fact that these and the other interactions that I observed also involved many of the Javanese in these wards also provides a basis for drawing conclusions not only about inter-ethnic relations but also about interaction among the Javanese themselves.

Table 4.2 *Evidence for lexical knowledge and use for males of Ward 8*

	Javanese		
Participant	*ngoko* Javanese	*krámá* Javanese	Indonesian
Pak Dono	R, O and I.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Pak Indro			R, O and I.
Pak Naryono		R and O.	R, O and I.
Pak Pujianto	R and O.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Pak Abdurrahman*			R, O and I.
Pak Taufik	R and O.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Pak Yusuf		R and O.	R, O and I.
Pak Feizel*			R, O and I.
Pak Adi*	O.	O.	R, O and I.
Pak Zainudin* (me)	Self-report.	Self-report.	R.
Pak Matius**			O and I.
Pak Joko	R and O.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Pak Mardiono		O.	O and I.
Pak Giono	R and O.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Pak Tri	R and O.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Pak Yudianto	O and I.	O.	O and I.
Pak Yulianto		O.	O and I.
Pak Nurholis	O and I.	O.	O and I.
Pak Manurung*			O and I.
Pak Tobing*	O.	O.	O and I.
Pak Sumaryono		O.	O and I.
Pak Kris**	O.		O and I.
Mas Zainal* (Pak Feizel's son)	R and O.		R, O and I.
Mas Syaifudin* (Pak Feizel's son)	R and O.		R, O and I.
Mas Diding* (my brother-in-law)	O.		R, O and I.
Mas Salim* (Pak Abdurrahman's son)	O.		R, O and I.
Mas Robi* (Pak Manurung's son)	O.		O and I.

In Ward 8 there were thirteen Javanese males who generally knew and used forms stereotypically associated with *ngoko* Javanese (NJ), *krámá* Javanese (KJ) and Indonesian (I). All non-Javanese males (there were eleven) knew Indonesian. Only a few non-Javanese adult males, such as Pak Adi* and Pak Tobing*, knew NJ and KJ. In comparison, many more of the non-Javanese male youth of this ward, such as Mas Zainal*, Mas Syaifudin*, Mas Diding*, Mas Salim*, and Mas Robi* knew and used NJ in interactions, although they did not appear to know KJ. Table 4.2 shows ward members' knowledge of these forms and a list of evidence for this. In the table I use "R" for evidence from recordings, "O" for evidence drawn from my observations or my research assistants' observations, and "I" for evidence drawn from my actual interactions with these participants.

Table 4.3 *Evidence for lexical knowledge and use for females of Ward 8*

	Javanese		
Participant	*ngoko* Javanese	*krámá* Javanese	Indonesian
Bu Dono	O.	O.	O and I.
Bu Indro		R and O.	R, O and I.
Bu Naryono	R and O.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Bu Yudianto	R and O.	R and O.	O and I.
Bu Mardiono		O.	O and I.
Bu Joko	R and O.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Bu Feizel*			R, O and I.
Bu Nurholis	R and O.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Bu Taufik*	O.	O.	O and I.
Bu Pujianto	R and O.	R and O.	O and I.
Bu Suntoro	R and O.	R and O.	R and O.
Bu Giono	R and O.	R and O.	O and I.
Bu Roni		O.	O and I.
Bu Abdurrahman*		O.	R, O and I.
Bu Yulianto	O.	O.	O and I.
Bu Tri	O.	O.	O and I.
Bu Kris**	R and O.		R, O and I.
Bu Zainudin*	R and O.	O.	R, O and I.
Bu Sumaryono*	R and O.	Self-report.	R, O and I.
Bu Manurung*			O and I.
Bu Tobing*			O and I.
Bu Matius**	O.	O.	O and I.
Mbak Fatimah* (Pak Feizel's daughter)	R and O.		R, O and I.
Abdurrahman children*	O.		R, O and I.
Manurung children*	O.		O and I.

The Javanese female heads of household in Ward 8 (there were fourteen) generally knew and used NJ, KJ and Indonesian. The migrant females generally knew and used NJ as well as Indonesian, although there are four exceptions, namely Bu Feizel*, Bu Abdurrahman*, Bu Manurung* and Bu Tobing*. Table 4.3 summarizes my data on this group.

In Ward 5 there were nineteen Javanese males who generally knew and used NJ, KJ, and Indonesian. There were four non-Javanese who knew and used NJ and Indonesian. However, only Pak Sudiman* and Pak Hamzah* knew KJ to any extent. Pak Abdul's knowledge and use of KJ appeared limited insofar as he almost never used these forms and was never reported by others as using these forms. Table 4.4 lists evidence for members' knowledge of these forms.

In summary, we can say that most of the people living in these two wards were competent in two types of Javanese (NJ and KJ) as well as Indonesian,

Table 4.4 *Evidence for lexical knowledge and use for males of Ward 5*

	Javanese		
Participant	*ngoko* Javanese	*krámá* Javanese	Indonesian
Pak Abdul*	R, O and I.		R, O and I.
Pak Liman	R and O.	O.	R, O and I.
Mas Putu*	R and O.		R, O and I.
Pak Madi	R and O.	O.	R, O and I.
Mas Budi	R and O.	O.	R, O and I.
Mas Heru	O and I.	O.	O and I.
Pak Sudiman*	R, O and I.	O.	R, O and I.
Mas Pras	R and O.	O.	R, O and I.
Mas Sigit	O.	O.	O and I.
Pak Sudomo	R and O.	O.	R, O and I.
Pak Surono		O.	O and I.
Pak Subagio		O.	O and I.
Pak Ali	R and O.	R and O.	R, O and I.
Pak Joni		O.	O and I.
Pak Subroto	O.	O.	O and I.
Pak Yon		O.	O and I.
Pak Tikno		O.	O and I.
Pak Akbar		O.	O and I.
Pak Hamzah*	O.	O.	O and I.
Mas Sis	O.	O.	O and I.
Mas Yono	O.	O.	O and I.
Mas Jono	O.	O.	O and I.

although there were some exceptions. Accordingly, barring the exceptions, in later chapters we won't be able to attribute the use of signs stereotypically associated with one language or another to the lack of knowledge of alternative signs. Of course, the exceptions raise another question: namely, why haven't some non-Javanese mastered NJ and KJ to the extent other non-Javanese have? Is it just a matter of their not having lived in the area for a long enough period, for example, or might failure to learn NJ and KJ relate to lack of reasons to choose to use them? In the following section I start to address these questions.

4.3 Learning Javanese

In the previous section I noted that whilst some migrants living in Ward 8 and Ward 5 knew and used signs stereotypically associated with Javanese, most often this was either *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) or *krámá* Javanese (KJ) but rarely both. In Ward 8, in particular, there were some non-Javanese who did not appear

Table 4.5 *Male non-Javanese of Ward 8*

Participants and their ethnicity	Medium competence	Length of stay in Central Java	Ethnicity of spouse
Pak Adi, an East Javanese from Surabaya.	I, NJ, KJ	9 months	Unmarried
Mas Diding, my brother-in-law, a Sundanese from Ciledug in West Java.	I, NJ	2 years	Unmarried
Zainudin, an Australian (me).	I, (limited NJ and KJ)	2 years	Sundanese
Pak Abdurrahman, a Maduranese from Pangkalan.	I	2 years	Maduranese
Mas Salim, Pak Abdurrahman's son.	I, NJ	2 years	Unmarried
Pak Manurung, a Batak from the Lake Toba area of Northern Sumatra.	I	8 years	Batak
Mas Robi, Pak Manurung's son.	I, NJ	8 years	Unmarried
Mas Zainal, Pak Feizel's son.	I, NJ	9 years	Unmarried
Mas Syaifudin, Pak Feizel's son.	I, NJ	9 years	Unmarried
Pak Feizel, a Buginese from Makassar in South Sulawesi.	I	9 years	Buginese
Pak Tobing, a Batak from the Lake Toba area of Northern Sumatra.	I, NJ, KJ	20 years	Batak

to have learned either. This raises the question of why, or what factors can be attributed to, this apparent lack of knowledge and use of NJ, KJ or both on the part of some migrants? This section addresses the issue in two ways. The first approach is to see if there is any relationship between these participants' length of stay in a Javanese-speaking area and their competence in NJ and/or KJ. Second, I go on to compare the ethnicity of the spouse of those who were competent in NJ and/or KJ with those who were not, in order to establish whether this might also have a relationship to learning Javanese. These comparisons are presented in tabular form followed by a discussion. I should also note here that in the tables I use the term **medium competence** to keep the distinction between **locally emerging semiotic registers** and more perduring and widely circulating **semiotic registers** of the type discussed in Chapter 2. In this sense, **medium** fits closely with Hymes's (1972a) notion of Instrumentalities in his SPEAKING framework. As such, participants' emerging **medium competence** can be seen as part of their **communicative competence** (Hymes, 1972b, 1974).

Tables 4.5 to 4.7 suggest that there is little relationship between length of stay in Central Java and competence in Javanese. For example, comparing the

Table 4.6 *Female non-Javanese of Ward 8*

Participants and their ethnicity	Medium competence	Length of stay in Central Java	Ethnicity of spouse
Bu Abdurrahman, a Maduranese from Pangkalan.	I, limited KJ	2 years	Maduranese
Bu Abdurrahman's two daughters.	I, NJ	2 years	Unmarried
Bu Zainudin, a Sundanese from Ciledug, West Java.	I, NJ, KJ	3.5 years	Australian
Bu Kris, an East Javanese of Chinese ancestry from Surabaya.	I, NJ	6 years	Indonesian-Chinese
Bu Manurung's three daughters.	I, NJ	8 years	Unmarried
Bu Sumaryono, from Bengkulu in South West Sumatra.	I, NJ	20 years	Central Javanese
Bu Taufik, a Sundanese from Tasikmalaya in West Java.	I, KJ	20 years	Central Javanese
Bu Tobing, a Batak from the Lake Toba area of Northern Sumatra.	I	20 years	Batak
Bu Feizel, a Buginese from Makassar in South Sulawesi.	I	9 years	Buginese

Table 4.7 *Male non-Javanese of Ward 5*

Participants and their ethnicity	Medium competence	Length of stay in Central Java	Ethnicity of spouse
Pak Abdul, a Buginese from Makasar in South Sulawesi.	I, NJ, (limited KJ)	2 years	Sundanese
Mas Putu, a Balinese from Denpasar.	I, NJ	4 years	Unmarried
Pak Sudiman, a Sundanese from Sumadang in West Java.	I, NJ, KJ	20 years	Central Javanese
Pak Hamzah, a Minangkabau from Padang in Central Sumatra.	I, NJ, KJ	20 years	Padang

length of stay of people such as the Abdurrahmans with their children, Pak Adi, Mas Diding (all from Ward 8), and Pak Abdul (from Ward 5) shows large differences in **medium competence** despite these people staying in a Javanese-speaking area for similar lengths of time. Similarly, looking at those who stayed for longer periods of time (up to nine years) also showed no relationship with competence in NJ or KJ. For example, comparing the Feizels* and the Manurungs* with their children, or with Bu Zainudin* (all from Ward 8) and Mas Putu* (from Ward 5), also shows large differences in competence despite these people staying in a Javanese-speaking area for similar lengths of time. This was also the case for those who had stayed in Central Java for twenty

years. Indeed, there were large differences in the competence of people such as Pak Tobing*, Bu Tobing*, Bu Sumaryono*, Bu Taufik* (all from Ward 8), Pak Sudiman* and Pak Hamzah* (both from Ward 5).

It is useful to highlight that all of the children from non-Javanese families were competent in NJ whilst their parents often were not. Indeed, the non-Javanese youth of Ward 8 appeared to start using NJ shortly after arriving in Semarang, as did Pak Adi (from Ward 8) and Pak Abdul* (from Ward 5). For example, I was in the unique position of being able to observe my younger non-Javanese brother-in-law and Pak Abdul* go from using Indonesian in inter-ethnic interactions with Javanese acquaintances to using all NJ in these interactions some two years later.

It is also interesting to note that a number of these people came from Eastern and North-Western (e.g. Cirebon) parts of Java. Some might argue that the varieties of Javanese in these areas have enough similarities to make learning the variety of Javanese spoken in these wards easy, at least in comparison to those who came from places like Sumatra or Sulawesi. As we have seen, however, there were some from Madura like Pak and Ibu Abdurrahman*, who even after two years' stay in Ward 8 had little competence in NJ (compare this to Pak Adi's nine-month stay in this ward).

From the previous discussion we might suggest that length of stay in a Javanese-speaking area does not appear to be a decisive factor that influences a non-Javanese's ability to acquire NJ. We can say this because there were a number of people who had lived for only a short time in a Javanese-speaking area, but yet were very competent in NJ in some contexts (e.g. Pak Adi*, Pak Abdul*, Mas Putu*, the Abdurrahman* children, my brother-in-law, and Bu Zainudin*). On the other hand, there were others who had stayed for similar periods, and even up to twenty years, but appeared to have little competence in Javanese (e.g. the Abdurrahmans*, the Feizels*, the Manurungs*, and Bu Tobing*).

Of course, there may be other reasons apart from length of stay that determine whether one becomes competent or not in NJ and/or KJ. A spouse's background may also be a factor, as noted in the introduction to this section. If we examine the Feizels*, the Manurungs*, the Tobings*, the Abdurrahmans* (all from Ward 8), and the Hamzahs* (from Ward 5) we can see that unlike the other couples where one partner was from Central Java, both partners were non-Javanese. Just as importantly, both were from the same region of Indonesia. As several of them noted, essentially this meant they both shared the same first language. The fly in the ointment for this argument, so to speak, is that some of these people (e.g. Pak Tobing* and the Hamzahs*) were competent in NJ and KJ, while the rest were not. Hence, it is hard to say whether it was having a Javanese spouse that could be related to their lack of competence in Javanese or some other factor.

If we look back to the discussion in Chapter 3 we might very tentatively suggest that there appears to be some relationship between frequency of interaction and competence in Javanese. For example, as noted in Chapter 3, the male heads of household in Ward 8 tended to interact less frequently than did the female heads of household. As Tables 4.2 and 4.3 show, the non-Javanese male heads of household tend to have little competence in NJ while the female non-Javanese heads of household are competent. This relationship also appears to hold in Ward 5, where non-Javanese were competent in Javanese and lived in a ward characterized by high levels of interaction between male heads of household. Of course, this raises a further question, namely, is the apparent failure to learn some groups of signs on the part of some non-Javanese perhaps the result of not needing to use them? In the next five chapters I begin to address this question as part of my exploration of process of social identification across speech events.

4.4 Conclusions

This chapter started by highlighting some of the issues relating to code choice and categorizing language alternation. Part of my discussion related to the need to demonstrate, rather than assume, that speakers can conduct monolingual conversations in two or more **mediums**. As has been shown, many members of these two wards, including many of the non-Javanese migrants, know and use linguistic signs stereotypically associated with *ngoko* Javanese (NJ), *krámá* Javanese (KJ) and Indonesian. So, barring the exceptions, in the following chapters we can say that members of these wards did in fact have a choice. Part of the task of the following chapters, then, is to provide an account of how, when, where, and why members of these wards choose among different linguistic signs.

Of course, for those non-Javanese migrants who appear to know only linguistic signs associated with Indonesian, there may seem little choice. However, considering that they have often been resident in Central Java (and more specifically in Ward 8 and Ward 5) for longer periods of time than some who have come to learn linguistic signs associated with Javanese, we might wonder to what extent this may reflect peoples' different **trajectories of socialization** within each ward. For example, are such trajectories interpretable as a lack of locally generated reasons to use linguistic signs associated with Javanese? In Chapters 6–9 I take up these questions.

5 Women, Narratives, Identity, and Expectations in Ward 8

5.0 Introduction

While identity, whether this be individual or group, has been one of the enduring topics of discussion within the humanities and social sciences (e.g. Barth, 1969; Gumperz, 1982c; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Gudykunst, 1988), increased levels of migration and talk-based approaches to human interaction have problematized earlier notions of identity (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Baumann, 1996; Hall, 1996; Werbner, 1997; Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998b; Tsuda, 1999; Brettell, 2003; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004a; Wortham, 2006). One common thread in some of this work relates to how identity is discursively constructed in contexts characterized by heterogeneity and transience. This chapter looks at one such context by focusing on face-to-face interactions among the women of Ward 8 during a routine monthly ward meeting. In particular, it explores how these women go about narrating identities and how this relates to perduring signs of identity.

After relating work on **semiotic registers** to talk and narrative (Section 5.1), I go on to focus on how talk in a female meeting in Ward 8 creates categories of personhood and social relations (Section 5.2). In Section 5.3 I go on to show how such categories become indexed to deviance through further talk about non-present persons. In following this talk, Section 5.4 examines how categories of personhood are linked to behavior while simultaneously constructing expectations for social conduct within this ward.

5.1 Narratives and processes of social identification

One of the main points of Section 2.1 on **semiotic registers** (**SRs**) was that they should be viewed as emergent, because signs only become signs if those used by a sender are recognized by the receiver. In cases where sign usage is not recognized such disjunctures are often seen through stops in ongoing talk, requests for clarification, and importantly for this chapter, talk that identifies the offending party as socially deviant. In other words, such sign usage appears "contrary to" or breaches a particular participant's **frames of expectation**

(e.g. Goffman, 1974; Bruner, 1991; Tannen, 1993). Scholars of narrative have observed that such disjunctures can often be seen in peoples' accounts of interactions with antagonists (e.g. Bruner, 1991; Mandelbaum, 1993; Briggs, 1996; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2007).

Indeed, Ochs and Capps (2001) show that within everyday conversation, the life events that get most attention are often those that are unusual, problematic, and/or run counter to personal or community expectations. Such talk about norm violations is also an activity described as "socialization to use language" (e.g. Ochs, 1986), where such talk raises participants' awareness about others' and/or community expectations, while at the same time providing ideas about what would have been appropriate and/or ways of coping with the problem (see also Ochs, 2004).

Such narratives provide insights into what the tellers consider moral and who fits such a category. In this sense, they contribute to the social identification of participants and referents. As Ochs and Capps (2001: 45–6) argue, in many stories that recount personal experience there is an antagonist whose actions have run counter to the teller's expectations of how interactions should unfold. As such, the teller tries to position themselves as moral, polite or well-behaved in contrast to the antagonist. In other words, talk about others tells us about conceptions of self on the part of the teller (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2007: 119–20).

Just as importantly, as work on identity and membership category analysis (MCA) has shown (e.g. Stokoe, 2003; Francis & Hester, 2004; and the papers in Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998b), such narratives also provide the researcher and participants alike with insights into how the self and other are interactionally constructed. This can be done by looking at which participants are positioned as members, and how they can be identified through their following of what participants present as their expectations for conduct in particular settings (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2007). In this sense, we can say that in conversational narratives, and talk more generally, social identification proceeds while simultaneously producing insights into what is considered normative (e.g. Moerman, 1988; Kitzinger, 2005), along with guidelines for future social conduct for the teller and others present (e.g. Ochs & Capps, 2001; Wortham, 2006).

Thus here, **processes of social identification** can refer to how tellers recontextualize pre-existing signs to position themselves and others in situated interaction (e.g. Davies & Harre, 1990; Berman, 1998; Georgakopoulou, 2007). Such interactions generally produce a description relating to a category of personhood (e.g. Sacks, 1995; Hester & Eglin, 1997; Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998a; Schegloff, 2007), which usually presupposes the existence of binary opposites or other members of these categories. In this sense, "the said" also provides insights into "the unsaid" (e.g. Tannen, 1989; Billig, 1999; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Inoue, 2006). As with identity, these categories are not

fixed but are built up across the course of an interaction as participants orient to each others' sign usage (e.g. Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998b; Wortham, 2006; Schegloff, 2007). As part of this process, categories of personhood are indexed to other sign(s) within a constellation of signs that make up a **locally emerging SR** (e.g. Ochs, 1988; Wortham, 2006).

While interaction among unfamiliars generally also relies upon the appropriation of signs from pre-existing **SRs** for initial social identification, over time it is the **locally emerging SRs** that increasingly become drawn upon for social identification projects (Wortham, 2006). As such, locally emerging categories along with the signs that index them are available to participants to appropriate and recontextualize (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) as "emblems" of identity in subsequent interactions (Agha, 2007: 233–77). Thus, over time, repeated appropriation and recontextualizations, or repetition if you like (Tannen, 1989), by those involved in interaction contribute not only to the formation of certain types of social relations but also associated ways of speaking, acting and feeling, which in some analyses have been described as **rapport** (e.g. Tannen, 1989, 1984), or more recently a **community of practice** (Wenger, 1998).

Just as the production of talk, expectations, and the social identification of others is often a joint exercise whereby hearers – as one participant category – help actively to produce a speaker's talk and embodied actions (e.g. Goodwin, 2007), not all participants have the same role. For example, some participants have the right to tell about newsworthy stories while others may have the right to evaluate such stories (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2007). Just as importantly, participant roles and the structure of talk and narratives emerge through joint participation in an ongoing conversation and are dependent on who is doing the telling and their prior histories of interaction (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 71).

For example, in contrast to narratives elicited through interviews, in conversational narratives one person may tell about experience while another evaluates such experience. Moreover, the assigning of such participant roles – as colluder, ratifier, evaluator, et cetera – often draws upon participants' prior interaction with each other where such roles may have become routinized and thus indexed to particular participants (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 70–7). Similarly, the learning of other types of conversational activities (e.g. collusion, ratification, versus contention, disagreement, delegitimation) will also be dependent upon participants' **trajectory of socialization** (e.g. Wortham, 2005: 95; Georgakopoulou, 2007: 70–7).

While thus far I have focused upon conversational narratives which are often co-told, we need also to see this and other dimensions of narrative in terms of a continuum, as is done in the work of Ochs and Capps (2001). I have reproduced these dimension, as Table 5.1. In defining each of these five dimensions, **tellership** refers to the extent and kind of participant contributions

Table 5.1 *Narrative dimensions and possibilities*

Dimensions	Possibilities	
Tellership	One active teller	Multiple active co-tellers
Tellability	High	Low
Embeddedness	Detached	Embedded
Linearity	Closed temporal and causal order	Open temporal and causal order
Moral stance	Certain, constant	Uncertain, fluid

Adapted from Ochs & Capps (2001: 20)

in constructing a narrative (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 24, 32–3). **Tellability** refers to the extent to which a narrative is of personal relevance to the teller and the extent to which they are able to enlist the involvement and empathy of other participants in the setting (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 33–6). **Embeddedness** refers to the degree to which the narrative is related to the ongoing social interaction (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 37–40).

Linearity relates to the " . . . extent to which narratives of personal experience depict events as transpiring in a single, closed, temporal, and causal path or, alternatively, in diverse, open, uncertain paths" (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 41). Thus, at one pole of the continua there will be a coherent storyline with a beginning, middle, and end; while at the other, narratives may be fragmented, conflictual, confused, and so on, allowing for multiple interpretations by participants (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 40–5). In terms of **moral stance**, at one end of the spectrum tellers try and position themselves as moral, polite or well-behaved in contrast to the protagonist, while at the other end such judgments may not permeate the whole narrative (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 47–50). Instead there will be uncertainty and an attempt to understand why an event occurred, especially in cases where other participants question the teller's perspective (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 51–4).

Of interest here also is the relationship between work on narrative and work on reported speech (e.g. Berman, 1998; Errington, 1998b; Clift & Holt, 2007; Georgakopoulou, 2007). For example, many narratives contain reported speech or are indeed defined as stories because they contain reported speech, which often presupposes the telling of past events. Of special relevance to this book is the common observation that while the way in which talk is reported in terms of sign usage may not represent what was actually said, nor how it was said, nevertheless it often tells the hearer how the teller feels about the particular talk, the event, and/or the speaker being reported (e.g. Briggs, 1996; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Clift & Holt, 2007; Georgakopoulou, 2007). In this sense, reported speech can be talked of as "constructed dialogue" (Tannen, 1989) or **represented speech** (cf. Agha, 2007: 32) because the activity of reporting creates the persona of the person(s) whose speech is supposedly being reported.

In summarizing this section, we can say that examining ward members' talk about others across speech events may provide insights into which signs make up a **locally emerging SR** within this ward, and how identity, social conduct and social relations fit into such a **SR**. An increasingly common approach to such talk can be found in studies of conversational narratives. Such narratives are commonly identified based on the existence of talk about disjunctures in experience (including the representation of talk of those involved or responsible for such disjunctures) and evaluations of such experience. Moreover, a useful approach to temporalization is to also consider talk that occurs in other settings outside of situated narratives (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2007).

On the one hand, this approach requires us to use ethnography so that we can place situated narratives into a larger history or trajectory of interactions among participants (e.g. Wortham, 2005; Georgakopoulou, 2007). On the other, it also encourages us to acquire a sense of the import of local and perduring signs and the relationships among them in a "communicative economy" (see Hymes, 1974). In this book I use this approach partly with recourse to my discussion of **SR** formation in Chapter 2 and partly with recourse to my fieldwork data. In doing so, however, we also need to keep in mind that in many settings it is not just the researcher who doesn't share a **trajectory of socialization** with participants (no matter how much immersion or fieldwork they undertake), but that it is increasingly rare for participants themselves to share such trajectories. Sometimes this results in a misrecognition of signs by participants and researchers alike, as demonstrated in interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz, 1982a; Tannen, 1984; Scollon & Wong Scollon, 2001). By taking a temporal approach, we can perhaps avoid some of these pitfalls while also remembering that we can only ever offer "an interpretation" (Tannen, 1984).

Finally, we also need to keep in mind that in particular types of settings – such as the ward meetings that are the focus of the next four chapters – the existence of nine or more participants in a meeting represents an uncommon context for the study of narrative. Indeed, while most of the work on conversational narrative treated above noted the need to take into account the role of multiple participants, exemplification of this stopped with just three participants. Thus, exploring whether and to what extent talk can be classified as narrative, and what forms and functions such narratives have, requires attention not only to each participant's trajectories of interaction within this ward but also to matters of **audience design** (Bell, 2001). This is so because participants regularly move from public to private talk and back again within any particular meeting.

This issue also relates back to the broader problem of defining different genres of talk. Taking into consideration the work of Hymes (1972a), Berman (1998), Ochs and Capps (2001) and Georgakopoulou (2007), I use both

participants' descriptions (emic) *and* categories brought along by the analyst (etic) to help me categorize particular instances of interaction. For example, Berman's (1998) path-building linguistic anthropological study of conversational narratives amongst Javanese women of noble connection in Yogyakarta provided many insights into the structure of narratives in an Indonesian setting. In her work, she found that repetition was a key element not only in establishing an abstract (Labov, 2006 [1972]) and thus topic, but also for establishing and maintaining cohesion and moving the story forward through the enlistment of co-narrators. Similarly, she pointed out that narratives could be identified by looking for instances of repetition that co-occurred with adverbials of time, style switching, reported speech and repetition.

5.2 Initial processes of social identification in a female meeting

In this and the following sections I apply the insights of **SRs**, talk, conversational narratives, language alternation and social identification discussed thus far to audio-recorded conversations. These recordings were made in speech situations, locally known as *arisan RT* "women's ward meeting," which occurred every month in Ward 8 (see e.g. Section 3.3). These meetings usually occurred on Saturday or Sunday afternoons at around 4 p.m. Like most ward meetings, the meeting I look at in the following sections took place in the front room of the host's house. In both these meetings participants sit on the floor. Each meeting normally starts with a song called *Ibu PKK* "PKK Mothers," which among other things reminds all participants about how mutual cooperation benefits the individual and their ward. These meetings were led by the female head of the ward or her nominated representative.

As a voice of the state-sponsored program of Guidance for Family Prosperity (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, or *PKK*), part of the function of such meetings was to help disseminate state development policy.[1] Among other things, this included ideas and directives on family planning, community health and development, *gotong royong* "working together for the mutual benefit of the community" et cetera (see also Blackburn, 2004; Newberry, 2006). While the means of achieving such directives varied from ward to ward – often because of income levels and the availability of spare time (see Chapter 3) – within Ward 8 these meetings regularly included discussions about the need to plan and pay for garbage collection, dengue fever mosquito prevention, neighborhood social activities and celebrations, and so on. As the discussions in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 indicated, participation in such meetings was also variable. Thus, while participation from all ward members was ideal, this never occurred in Ward 8. Indeed, while there were twenty-three households in this ward, no more than fifteen women heads of household ever attended these meetings.

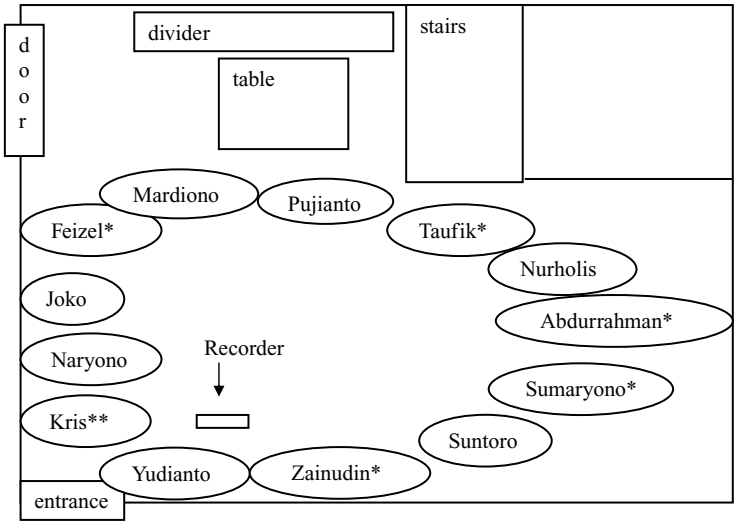

Diagram 5.1 A women's ward meeting in Ward 8 (July 1996)

More specifically, in this section I look at initial **processes of social identification**. I examine how participants start to construct a general category of persons who pay or don't pay, but then move on to focus on a specific individual while also attaching negative evaluations to this non-present person. In looking at this talk, I should also point out that I continue to use the transcription conventions set out in the preliminery pages and in Section 4.1 with Indonesian in plain font, *ngoko* Javanese in **bold**, and ***bold italics*** used to indicate those forms that can be classified as either *ngoko* Javanese or Indonesian. As a further reminder, I also affix an asterisk "*" to the name of those who have self-reported, or who were reported/talked about by others, as being non-Javanese. Two asterisks affixed to a person's name means that they or others have identified this person as someone of Chinese ancestry. Conventions for representing prosody are the same as those used in Chapters 2 and 4.

Extract 5.1 is of the first meeting recorded by my research assistant and significant other, Bu Zainudin*. In this meeting, which was held in early July 1996, thirteen of the twenty-three female heads of households attended and all present were regulars. Diagram 5.1 shows where each person was seated. Bu Zainudin* and Bu Abdurrahman* were both newcomers, having respectively arrived in this ward three and four months earlier. The talk in Extract 5.1 occurs about eight minutes into the meeting and is preceded by a conversation between Bu Sumaryono*, Bu Abdurrahman*, Bu Nurholis, Bu Joko, and Bu Kris** about payment of monthly dues and the working out of just exactly who

gave money to whom and on whose behalf. The conversation is interrupted by Bu Naryono (the head of the ward) when she introduces the topic about the upcoming Independence Day celebrations to be held on August 17.

Extract 5.1 Payers and attendees: initial category construction

Bu Naryono		
1	terus ini? unt:uk? (0.6) tujuh belasan	So for the neighborhood
2	rw? (0.9) diminta #ibu ibu# >yang	Independence Day celebrations
3	membayar per (keluarga??) empat	we women folk have been asked
4	ribu:'> (1.0) **soalé** bapak bapaknya itu	to pay four thousand per family.
5	kalau datang> engga sena:ng' (0.6)	**Because** the men folk don't like
6	kalau ibu ibu kan lebih banyak'.	to attend, if it is the womenfolk there is more, right?
Bu Sumaryono*		
7	{ (kemarin kan bayar) (1.0) suami saya	(The other day it was paid
8	**bar *mbayar***.	right?). My husband **finished *paying***.
Bu Kris**		
9	{ (kemarin bayar nih #??? ???#) =	(The other day he paid ??? ???)
Bu Naryono		
10	= yang	Who hasn't paid?
11	belum bayar? =	
Bu Sumaryono*		
12	= belum bayar (???) =	[Who] hasn't paid (???)?
Bu Naryono		
13	=	
14	yang belum bayar aja? =	Just those who haven't paid.
Bu Sumaryono*		
15	= (bu sis ???) =	(Mrs. Sis ???)
Bu Naryono		
16	=	
17	#nanti (ke??)# (1.0) pak? #***anu***# (3.0)	Later to. Mr. ***um***. To Mr. Feizel.
18	(ke??) #pak feizel# (1.9) yang kemarin	The other day (many of) the men
19	bapak bapaknya belum dateng? (1.3) bu	folk didn't attend. Mrs. Kris and
20	kris juga pak kris kan? #engga datang#	Mr. Kris also didn't attend,
21	=	right?
Bu Kris**		
22	= heeh	That's right.

In beginning our analysis, we can say that at the start of this interaction the men are identified as people who don't like attending meetings in contrast to the women (lines 4–6). In doing so, they create the categories of "attender" and "non-attender." The general identity category of "payer" and "non-payer" is also introduced in lines 7–14. At this stage no named female head of household

is associated with these categories, which contrasts with Mr. Kris** being named as a non-attender of male meetings at lines 19–21. Although, as we shall see in Extract 5.2, the signs relating to "payer" and "non-payer" and the activity of attending meetings not only begin to figure in the solidification of locally relevant categories but they also begin to be attached to specific persons and to affective stance.

Before turning to Extract 5.2, however, there are some aspects of the talk in Extract 5.1 that invite a closer look. For example, while participants mainly use forms stereotypically associated with Indonesian and inter-ethnic interaction, Bu Naryono and Bu Sumaryono*, a non-Javanese migrant, use forms stereotypically associated with *ngoko* Javanese (NJ): for example, *soalé* "because" (line 4) and *bar* "finished/already" (line 8). Although such usage is not ratified by other participants – that is, other participants don't switch to NJ – nobody comments on this usage as strange, either in this setting or outside of this setting. Indeed, the interaction goes on without any repairs or longer pauses relative to previous ones.

The co-occurrence of these forms with Indonesian forms within an intonational unit (that is, an utterance surrounded by pauses) suggests that Bu Naryono's alternation might be treated as **sign alternation as the medium**. It is also interesting to note that she also knew the Indonesian equivalents of NJ forms used and vice versa. For Bu Sumaryono*, **adequation** seems to be a more appropriate category, especially given that Bu Sumaryono* also knew the equivalent Indonesian form (see Table 4.3). At this stage, however, it is hard to say whether such **adequation** is viewed as appropriate by anyone else other than Bu Kris**. That is to say, Bu Sumaryono's use of forms stereotypically associated with another's ethnic identity does not attract any meta-talk from Bu Kris**.

In terms of conversational activities, much of what Bu Naryono is doing in Indonesian appears to be official reporting. Indeed, we might expect this type of activity to be fairly frequent on the part of Bu Naryono. This is so because she is the ward head and it is generally the responsibility of the ward head to report on government initiatives et cetera in ward meetings. Because Indonesian usage is also associated with a widely circulating **SR** that has authority within its category of signs (e.g. Diagram 2.1), we might also suggest that the usage here by someone who has authority in this setting and the right to report not only reproduces such language ideologies but contributes to their association with a local setting. In other words, in conducting such conversational activities in Indonesian, these activities are indexed with Indonesian and in turn this contributes to a locally emerging **SR**.

It is also interesting to note the repetition (indicated with a double underline) that occurs in interaction between Bu Naryono and Bu Sumaryono* in lines 10–14. Since we know they have a close social relationship – which I sketch out

further in Section 6.3 – we might be inclined to read this repetition as indicative of this relationship. Of course, we will need to look at how this and other subsequent interactions unfold to see whether and to what extent this might be the case. Similarly, we will have to follow this interaction to see if the links between Bu Naryono, Indonesian, the activity of official reporting, and authority solidify at the local level. In addition to looking at how identity categories become associated with deviance, the analysis of the following extract begins to look at these issues. The talk in Extract 5.2 occurs just two turns after the above interaction. The intervening conversation between Bu Naryono, Bu Sumaryono* and Bu Kris** relates to the 10,000 rupiah needing to be paid by each member for ward-level festivities. Transcription conventions remain the same but with the addition of **BOLD CAPS** and 𝕆𝕌𝕋𝕃𝕀ℕ𝔼𝔻 𝔹𝕆𝕃𝔻 ℂ𝔸ℙ𝕊 to indicate forms stereotypically associated with *krámá* and *krámá inggil* Javanese respectively.

Extract 5.2 Linking named persons with categories and deviance

Bu Naryono		
24	yang empat ribu itu . untuk rw::?	The four thousand is for the
25	(0.9) #rw nya?# (1.3) >terus ini> .	neighborhood. The neighborhood.
26	untuk +rt ini?+ . mau:: gimana bu' .	And for this ward what do we want
27	mau masak apa' (0.9) dan ini udah #	to do? What will we cook? And for
28	lunas semua# #(??? ???)'# (0.5) bu	this everybody has paid up. Mrs.
29	sudah lunas =	[Joko] has everybody paid?
Bu Joko		
30	= hah? . belu:m? .	What, not yet,
31	ini::: lima belas? (1.0) lima belas?	fifteen. Fifteen, and Mrs. Giono just
32	terus bu: giono kemarin kan? baru	gave me fourteen thousand (???)
33	ngasih (1.0) { empat belas #(???)	(???).
34	(???)#	
Bu Naryono		
35	{ bu matius sudah?	[Has] Mrs. Matius already [paid]?
36	=	
Bu Nurholis?		
37	= bu giono ndak #(???)#'=	Mrs. Giono hasn't (???).
Bu Naryono		
38	= +terus	And
39	bu tobing?+ (1.0) bu tobing:: .	Mrs. Tobing, Mrs. Tobing
40	>**DÈRÈNG**'> =	**HASN'T YET** [paid].
Bu Joko		
41	= (bu giono yang	(Mrs. Giono who just)
42	baru) =	
Bu Naryono		
43	= bu tobing bu heru	Mrs. Tobing [and] Mrs. Heru
44	>**DÈRÈNG**'>=	**HAVEN'T YET** [paid].

Extract 5.2 (*cont.*)

Bu Joko		
45	= %**DÈRÈNG** ***kok***	***[Unfortunately]* NOT YET**,
46	**mung sing** RAWUH **tok**'% .	**just those** HONOURABLE PEOPLE WHO HAVE ATTENDED [today].
Bu Naryono		
47	o:::h . >**lah kuwi ndadak nariki**	Oh, **Why do we have to ask for**
48	{ **ning unggal umah kuwi ki'**>	**money from that area**?
Bu Sumaryono*		
49	{ bu taufik kasihtahu nggak bayar	Mrs. Taufik [could you] tell them
50	{ #(???) (???)# =	that they haven't paid (???) (???)?
Bu Nurholis		
51	{ **suwi sing** bayar arisan pada	It takes **those** [people] **a long time**
52	ditariki **kuwi**' =	to pay money [social contributions] when asked.
Bu Pujianto		
53	= { (???) (???)	(???) (???)
Bu Joko		
54	{ >**ra enak** lah	**Later** I **won't** feel comfortable
55	**engko koyo ngono** ditariki'>	asking for money **like that**.
Bu Kris**		
56	{ apa **sing** deket	What about the ones **who** are close
57	**kuwi**	by?

In the above interaction we can see that in lines 39 and 43 two people in particular are mentioned as non-payers, namely Bu Tobing* and Bu Heru. As such, the general identity category of "non-payers" begins to become attached to particular persons. Note that following this mention, Bu Joko begins to implicitly evaluate this non-payment at lines 45–46. She does this by linking payment with attendance and by talking about those in attendance as honorable, using a form RAWUH "to come/attend," which is a **LOTI** form stereotypically associated with Javanese and respect toward a referent, that is, the activity of elevating one's interlocutor or referent. This usage co-occurs with a more low-pitched and nasal pronunciation (indicated by the use of "%" percentage signs around the talk), which together with the form *mung* "just" allows for a reading of her entire utterance as simultaneously evaluating attendance and payment as appropriate social conduct, and conversely, the non-attendance and non-payment as inappropriate. In this way, the categories and activities from the previous talk (Extract 5.1) – that is, non-payer and non-attendance – become situationally associated with affective stance. Indeed, this appears to be how Bu Naryono (lines 47–48), Bu Sumaryono* (lines 49–50) and Bu Nurholis (lines 51–52) orient to her sign usage by way of their complaints about non-attendance and their offering of a solution.

It is also worthwhile noting that, in terms of medium choice, **LOTI** forms appear to be used when talking about personal topics, which contrasts with the type of reporting activity that is done in Indonesian. It is also interesting to note here that these medium choices co-occur with the type of repetition found in Extract 5.1. While the above highlights the use of **LOTI** forms stereotypically associated with Javanese, intra-ethnic talk about personal life worlds and other-elevating activities (e.g. Diagram 2.2), nevertheless the use of **DÈRÈNG** "not yet" in lines 40 and 44–45 doesn't invite these sorts of interpretations. Indeed, this usage is strange insofar as prior and subsequent exchanges between these participants – as well as with Bu Nurholis and Bu Kris** – primarily contain forms stereotypically associated with intra-ethnic talk among familiars (e.g. Diagram 2.1): that is, *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) or Indonesian with NJ tokens. As such, this usage of a form stereotypically associated with *krámá* Javanese (KJ) and with interaction among unfamiliars is at odds with prior and subsequent habitual patterns of exchange.

One plausible interpretation of this usage is that it was a device to elicit an answer that didn't appear to be forthcoming. For example, in lines 29–30 and 36–37 Bu Naryono's questions are answered without any significant pause between her question and Bu Nurholis's answer. This contrasts to line 39 where she appears to wait for one second for an answer. When this answer is not forthcoming according to a pattern of pause usage set in the prior talk, she asks the question again, this time using KJ. Similarly, she uses KJ again at line 44 when her question about Bu Tobing* in lines 40–41 still doesn't elicit the response she wants, i.e. when Bu Joko provides information about Bu Giono rather than Bu Tobing*. Bu Naryono may be marking this "non-answering of a question" with a KJ form. Moreover, because these participants habitually exchange NJ forms, the use of a KJ form is much more interactionally marked, thus helping gain Bu Joko's attention.

The above also starts to bring into focus some of the potential identity work that participants' linguistic sign choices are implying. For example, if NJ is indeed indexical of habitual interactions and familiar relationships, then we might suggest that it is also potentially indexed to the category of "payer" and "attendee" noted above along with particular persons in this ward. The flip side of this is that Indonesian is also potentially indexed to unfamiliars as well as to particular non-payers and non-attendees.

We also see that Bu Kris**, a person of Chinese ancestry from East Java, uses some forms stereotypically associated with NJ. We can suggest that this may represent an instance of **adequation** similar to that of Bu Sumaryono* in Extract 5.1, although this leaves open the question of why she didn't use all NJ forms, given her knowledge of their equivalents. Similarly, we might ask why Bu Sumaryono* hasn't continued her pattern of **adequation**, given her earlier usage and her obvious ability to understand conversations in Javanese.

In the following sections I explore these questions along with questions of whether and to what extent the signs of identity, social activity, and affective stance discussed thus far further solidify to become part of a **locally emerging SR.** I do this by continuing to follow the group conversation about Bu Tobing*.

5.3 Narratives, collusion, identity and negative affect

In this section I look at how the social identification of the non-present non-Javanese migrant, Bu Tobing*, unfolds and how it relates to the construction of participant expectations for conduct in this ward. In the following conversation, which occurs directly after the interaction described in Extract 5.2 above, Bu Tobing* increasingly becomes the focus of talk containing negative evaluations of her behavior. This and the following talk can be defined as narratives from both emic and etic perspectives. Participants, for example, described the following talk as either *ngerumpi* "telling about past events involving non-present others" or *ngerasani* "telling about past events involving non-present others in a negative way." From an etic structural perspective, the talk that follows has a co-produced abstract, complicating events, evaluations, resolutions, and retellings that are brought about through the use of reported speech, codeswitching, repetition, and adverbials of time (cf. Berman, 1998). More specifically, tellings were regularly about disjunctures in experience/problematic events relating to the behavior of others. Such tellings were also co-produced insofar as one participant recounted the problematic event while others evaluated this and proposed potential future sanctions or solutions. In terms of narrative dimensions too (e.g. Diagram 5.1), these stories were highly **tellable** (because they enlisted the involvement and empathy of a number of participants through repetition), they were highly **embedded**, had a fairly closed temporal and causal order, and a **moral stance** that was becoming increasingly constant through its increasing sharedness.

These narratives, I argue, help solidify the association of the categories of "attendee" and "payer" with different types of affective stance. In doing so, they also provide insights into participants' expectations about social conduct within this ward, namely the need to pay social contributions and attend meetings. Such evaluations are co-constructed through collusive sequences, which can be seen through the repetition of participants' prior utterances. At the same time, such collusive sequences may be viewed by other participants as a potential sign of rapport among particular participants, especially as they co-occur with other signs of intimate inter-personal relations. In the following extract I continue to use the same conventions as in the previous extracts while adding a single wavy underline to indicate that the word or utterance will be repeated in future talk, although it may not always immediately follow.

Extract 5.3 Linking categories to local norms for social conduct

Bu Nurholis		
59	***lah*** bu heru **enggoné sing sebelahé**::	***Now*** Mrs. Heru **whose house is beside** Mrs. Robi's together with **that** Mrs. Robi, yes?
60	. >bu robi bareng **kuwi**'> bu robi?	
61	heem =	
Bu Naryono		
62	= bu robi >bu robi**né** ya **during**	Mrs. Robi **that** Mrs. Robi**'s** [contribution] ya [we've] **not yet** [received it] ***heh***?
63	***#toh#***>=	
Bu Sumaryono*		
64	= bu robi kan belum ***toh***? .	Mrs. Robi right? [we've] not yet [received it] ***heh***.
Bu ?		
65	ya belum ***toh*** **yo** =	Yeah ***of course*** not yet.
Bu Naryono		
66	= **nek** bu robi **kuwi** . ya	**If it is** Bu Robi [we are talking about], **later** [she] **won't** understand, at the most **previously** [she only paid] **5000**.
67	**engko lagek *#keliru#*** . paling **gé embèn**	
68	**#limang èwu#** (0.8)	
Bu Nurholis		
69	***terus*** bu heru **sebelahé kuwi** . <bu	***So*** Mrs. Heru **beside her** Mrs. Tobing
70	tobing?< =	
Bu Pujianto		
71	= (???) (???) (???) (???).	(???) (???) (???) (???) HONORABLE PERSON(S) WHO ATTEND **or not/won't**.
72	{ <RAWUH **ora**<	
Bu Abdurrahman*		
73	{ bu tobing tuh yang mana	Which one is Mrs. Tobing?
Bu Nurholis		
74	{ itu ***loh*** sebelah bu matius itu ***loh***	***You know the one*** beside Mrs. Matius.
Bu Sumaryono*		
75	{ sebelah bu roni itu bu tobing ***toh***'	The one beside Mrs. Roni is Mrs. Tobing ***you with me***.
76	=	
Bu Naryono		
77	= +bu tobing+ . tobing #tobing#	Mrs. Tobing, Tobing, Tobing.
78	(0.6)	
Bu Nurholis		
79	nggak pernah datang ***kok***' =	***Disappointingly*** [she] has never attended (a meeting).
Bu Naryono		
80	= ***lah iya***.	***That is right***, [she] has never attended (a meeting).
81	arisan . { nggak pernah datang>	

Extract 5.3 (*cont.*)

Bu Nurholis		
82	{ >patungan sepuluh ribu>	[she] has never attended [to
83	#nggak pernah datang'# (0.7)	contribute] her share of 10,000 [rupiah toward the preparation of 17th of August Independence Day celebrations].
Bu Sumaryono*		
84	padahal rt penting butuh kenal ya	But the ward is important [we] need
85	(0.8) kalau (???) (???) { (???)	friends yes? If (???) (???) (???)

In starting this analysis we can say that while Bu Robi, Bu Heru and Bu Tobing* continue to be mentioned as non-payers (lines 59–65), we see that Bu Robi is mentioned as someone who perhaps does not understand or know about her social contribution responsibilities (lines 66–68). Bu Heru also seems to disappear from participants' attention, especially from line 73 onwards after Bu Abdurrahman* focuses on Bu Tobing* as someone who she does not know. This seems to be locally explainable. For example, both Bu Nurholis and Bu Sumaryono* try to indicate where Bu Tobing* lives within this ward (lines 74–76). Bu Nurholis then offers a potential reason for this difficulty in identifying Bu Tobing*: namely that Bu Tobing* disappointingly never attends meetings (line 79), thus by implication making it hard for others to identify her.

At this stage we also see the emergence of three elements that allow this talk to be classified as a conversational narrative. The first is the use of repetition to co-produce an initial topic, namely Bu Tobing* (lines 69–70, 73, 75, 77). The second is the co-production of talk about actions that occur contrary to expectations, namely non-attendance at meetings (e.g. lines 79–83), which implies that attendance is preferred by the tellers. The third is the existence of evaluations of non-attendance. For example, Bu Nurholis seems to use the affective particle *kok* to evaluate her prior description of Bu Tobing's actions as disappointing (line 79). While Bu Sumaryono's comment (lines 84–85) might be seen as a resolution, arguably her talk can also be seen as evaluative, insofar as she offers a reason as to why attendance is important.

It is also important to note here that this representation of Bu Tobing* and her behavior not only appears to be negative, but it is also a collusive effort. Such collusion appears to be achieved through the repetition of whole utterances, as in the use of *nggak pernah datang* "never attends" (lines 79, 81 and 83) and Bu Sumaryono's subsequent evaluation of this behavior. While Bu Tobing's actions are seen as deviant, we cannot be absolutely sure that Bu Tobing* herself is being categorized as deviant. We can, however, say that through such negative categorizations we begin to see attendance and payment solidify as locally expected behavior. In other words, we can begin to see one aspect of a local system of expectations for social conduct emerging through a series of negative

evaluations of another's personal conduct. Moreover, in terms of **medium** choice, we see that patterns discussed in relation to earlier talk continue. For example, NJ forms appear to be continually used for inter-personal conduct among Javanese and often in talk about personal experience (lines 59–63 and 66–70). This usage contrasts with the evaluations, reports about others, and inter-ethnic talk that are carried out in Indonesian (lines 73–85).

There also appears to be a pattern of repetition emerging where we see that particular speakers not only engage in repetition but that it seems to be moving from repetition of just single words to whole utterances and to more automatic kinds of repetition of the type Tannen (1989) describes as "shadowing." It is, however, still too early to interpret such repetition as rapport building, though as we shall see, such an interpretation increasingly becomes probable as we look at **medium** choice, prosody, first person reference and narrative activity in the following talk.

In the following extract (which follows directly from the previous one) we will start to see how Bu Tobing* is increasingly identified as someone who is deviant, as well as how this relates to the further explication of expectations for social conduct among the women of this ward. We will also see that such classification appears to come out of another narrative about a disjuncture in experience on the part of Bu Naryono (lines 88–90). The solutions to such problems are jointly constructed through talk about avoidance of future interaction with Bu Tobing* (lines 91–97).

Extract 5.4 Avoidance as a locally emerging norm linked to friendly conduct

Bu Joko		
86	{ ditarik	**Go to her house** [and] **just** ask for
87	**waé**:? . **ning umahé**' (0.9)	[contributions]!
Bu Naryono		
88	> **ning** ditariki **ning umahé gé**	**Previously I went to her house** to
89	**emben ketoké piyé** ya bu?> . %ya	ask for money, **but she acted**
90	***aku* ra *enak*** { ***aku***%	**unfriendly**. ***Me***, ***I*** **didn't *feel* comfortable**.
Bu Nurholis		
91	{%>***aku*** ya **wegah *ok***	Yeah ***me***, ***I*** **couldn't be bothered**
92	**mono emoh**> { #***aku***#%	**with going there**.
Bu Naryono		
93	{ % ***aku* meh** narik	[If] ***I* have** to ask for [contributions]
94	**wegah** % { #***aku***#	***I* couldn't be bothered**.
Bu ?		
95	{ (???) (???) (???)	(???) (???) (???).
Bu Nurholis		
96	{ %> ***aku* meh** narik	[If] ***I* have** to ask for [contributions
97	**wegah**%> #**ngono *loh*#** (0.4)	**I] couldn't be bothered, it's like that**.

In the above conversation we see that the label of "unfriendly" becomes attached to Bu Tobing* as Bu Naryono recounts her earlier experience in collecting ward dues (lines 88–90). At this stage, however, we are not sure upon what types of embodied communication such a claim of unfriendliness is based. What does appear clear in the series of turns between Bu Naryono and Bu Nurholis is that it is another collaborative effort where repetition plays a role in such collaboration (lines 87–88, 91, 93–94 and 95–97). Note that such collaboration co-occurs with overlapping talk, low pitched and nasal pronunciation, and the use of NJ. These collaborations also co-occur with the use of terms of self-reference (*aku* "I"), which are stereotypically associated with familiar inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic relationships between interlocutors of similar socio-economic backgrounds and age (e.g. Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Berman, 1998; Errington, 1998b; Englebretson, 2007).

As with the previous extracts, these accounts of personal experience are also in NJ, which continues the association of such usage with attendees, payers and familiars. What seems to have changed over interactional time, however, is that evaluations and solutions now seem to be offered in NJ instead of Indonesian. This seems explainable if we look at patterns of pronunciation, especially the low-pitched and nasal pronunciation used by Bu Naryono and Bu Nurholis in lines 89–94 and 96–97. In Bu Naryono's talk, for example, such pronunciation helps bring about her affective stance toward Bu Tobing* as someone she doesn't feel comfortable being around (lines 89–90), and later, in the solutions she and Bu Nurholis talk about (lines 91–92, 93–94 and 97–99). Such usage has continuities with Bu Joko's usage in Extract 5.2 (lines 45–46). For example, here it seems to have been used as a sign to indicate a change in conversational activity within Bu Naryono's turn (lines 88–90). In particular, from telling about personal past experience (lines 88–89) to negatively evaluating this experience (lines 89–90). This contrasts somewhat with these participants' subsequent use of low-pitched nasal pronunciation from line 91 onwards. Although such pronunciation has been associated with negative affect in previous interaction, this time it co-occurs with a solution of sorts, namely, not bothering with, or avoiding future interaction with, Bu Tobing*.

5.4 Publicly co-constructing self, other, and expectations for social conduct

So far we have examined how Bu Tobing's represented identity and social conduct vis-à-vis this ward has been increasingly seen as deviant. This social identification has been collaboratively achieved through the talk of three main participants, namely Bu Naryono, Bu Joko and Bu Nurholis. Up until the last extract I was also rather cautious in claiming that identities, such as "non-attendee" and "non-payer," were unambiguously associated with Bu Tobing*. In

the following talk such ambiguities are cleared up as participants now publicly identify Bu Tobing* as deviant.

Such public identification is done by way of Bu Naryono raising her voice very noticeably relative to her previous talk (indicated by "@" surrounding the talk). This makes the talk more accessible to the other participants, especially those who were engaged in their own conversations. Indeed, in the talk that follows in the next few extracts, Bu Sumaryono*, Bu Kris**, and Bu Pujianto all become more involved in the social identification of Bu Tobing*. Moreover, this process appears to keep the attention of all present with no-one else talking while the participants represented in the following seven extracts talk about Bu Tobing*.

Extract 5.5 Co-constructing self, other, community, and norms for conduct

Bu Naryono		
98	@bu tobing@ **kui *loh*** . +ditarik?+	**That** Mrs. Tobing, asked by
99	**wong** kan? ngga pernah ketemu **yo**	**someone** [for contributions she]
100	+**ndhéwéké karepé kih**? . lepas	can never be found, **yeah** [her]
101	>**ngono *loh***>+ **soko** tanggung jawab	**individual wish is to not take**
102	rt **iki ndhéwéké kih #emoh'#** =	**any** ward responsibilities, [she]
		is not interested.
Bu Joko		
103	= **lho**	**Well don't live here** (???) (???)
104	**ojo manggon nèng kéné** { (???)	
Bu Naryono		
105	{ **anu opo**	**Ah what is it**,
106	**ndhéwéké ora tahu teko *loh***?.	[she] **has never shown up**, ***you know***
107	kan? ya nggak boleh ***ok***' =	[you] aren't allowed, ***right***.
Bu Sumaryono*		
108	= dia tuh dia	She, what is her [residency]
109	statusnya di sini apa? =	status here.
Bu Naryono		
110	= ***lah iya***'=	***That is right***.
Bu Sumaryono*		
111	= dia	[If] she is here asking for a ward
112	di sini minta surat rt kan? jangan	letter, don't give it [to her].
113	>+dikasih+'> =	

As can be seen in lines 97–102 and 105–107 Bu Naryono publicly associates Bu Tobing* with the categories of "non-payer," "non-attendee," while also positioning her as a person who disregards their ward responsibilities. In doing so, this public retelling of a prior story (i.e. of never attending meetings) reproduces the categories of "non-paying neighbors" and "non-attendee of meetings" discussed earlier, while adding the category of "irresponsible neighbor." This latter category is very much related to perduring categories associated with *gotong-royong* "working together for the mutual benefit of the

community," which all participants are reminded of through the *Ibu PKK* song recited at the start of each of these meetings (see Section 5.2). This perduring category seems to be implicitly invoked by talk about Bu Tobing* as someone who does not belong to this category of persons. In doing so, the colluders in this telling are implying that they belong to the category of persons who are good ward members. In other words, in identifying Bu Tobing* as deviant they are also implying that they are not deviant.

Note also that while Bu Naryono mentions her expectations about what is neighborly, it is Bu Joko and Bu Sumaryono* who cite solutions or sanctions for treating those who deviate from these expectations (lines 103–104 and 111–113). Thus, here processes of social identification are also reliant upon input from multiple participants. Just as importantly, this co-construction also simultaneously creates other identities, such as community or ward, as well as expectations for social conduct in this ward (as briefly mentioned in relation to Extract 5.3). For example, the above talk implies that having the identity of a responsible community member means attending and paying. This points to the inter-related nature of identity, practice, and community through seeing expectations about practice simultaneously defining what social characteristics contribute to identity and community membership in this setting (see Wenger, 1998).

At this stage it is also important to point out that Bu Naryono engages in language alternation in two ways. The first in lines 97–102 appears to fit the pattern of **sign alternation as the medium** (see Section 4.1). This is so because participants make no comment about the appropriateness of alternating between NJ and Indonesian in subsequent talk in this or other settings. This interpretation is further supported if we look at the use of NJ and Indonesian within intonational units (indicated by a "." in the transcript). As we can see, where pauses do occur this does not set apart an instance of talk that is made up either of linguistic signs associated with NJ or those associated with Indonesian. The second form of **medium alternation** is where one set of signs is used (in this case NJ in lines 105–106), followed by a pause and then another set of signs (in this case Indonesian in line 107). This alternation from NJ to Indonesian also co-occurs with what appears to be an evaluation of Bu Tobing's behavior (line 107). Thus, the alternation here seems to be functional and as such I will classify it as **codeswitching**.

Note also that the medium choice of Bu Naryono's interlocutors – Bu Joko and Bu Sumaryono* – also gives some insights into their situated identities. For example, we can interpret Bu Joko's talk (lines 103–104) as helping solidify her insider/intimate/familiar identity that has been achieved through her previous talk in NJ. Such an interpretation continues to fit with perduring **SRs** relating to **LOTI** usage. This interpretation is further supported by way of Bu Joko's participation in discussions about non-normative neighbors. For example, she

positions herself as belonging to a category of persons who are normative through her talk about sanctions for persons who are deviant. In contrast, although Bu Sumaryono* seems also to have rights to suggest sanctions and engage in discussions about deviance, her identity is a little more ambiguous due to her use of Indonesian (lines 108–109 and 111–113) with its associations with outsiders, strangers, and ethnic others.

In turning to some of the less obvious patterns that are emerging over the course of this extended conversation we can also see what appear to be relationships between signs from one **semiotic encounter** and the next. For example, Bu Naryono's *ora tahu teko* "never attended" at line 106 seems to be a translated repetition of her and Bu Nurholis's utterance *nggak pernah datang* (Extract 5.3, lines 79, 81 and 83). Attention to the relationships between such speech events and the associated signs helps account for other apparent anomalies.

For example, why does Bu Naryono **codeswitch** into Indonesian here when evaluating Bu Tobing's behavior, while in Extract 5.4 she does this through the use of low-pitched and nasal pronunciation? One plausible answer relates to addressees or audience within participant constellations. For example, in the above publicly directed talk, the potential participants include non-Javanese, a number of whom have little competence in Javanese (e.g. Table 4.6). In contrast, in Extract 5.4 the talk was amongst primarily Javanese participants and thus they had the choice of either framing "doing evaluation" through codeswitches to Indonesian or through low-pitched and nasal pronunciation. This interpretation is further supported if we look back to Extract 5.3, where Bu Nurholis and Bu Naryono evaluated behavior in Indonesian (lines 79–83) in response to a question by a non-Javanese speaker (line 73).

To sum up all of the talk so far, what appears to be locally emerging are two broad types of **SRs**. The first might be conveniently talked of as an insider **SR**, which has within its constellation of signs certain behavioral patterns and conversational activities (e.g. talk about personal experiences and affective dispositions versus talk about the world, evaluation, solutions). This **SR** is also sequentially tied to patterns of medium alternation. The second **SR** might be talked of as primarily containing signs that are opposite to the first and as being associated with deviant outsiders. Although thus far there has been little evidence which ties this second **SR** with patterns of medium choice, in the following extract we will see Indonesian beginning to be more unambiguously associated with outsiders at the local level. Before proceeding, however, I should also note that the retelling of stories seems to function as a way of widening the **social domain** of these **SRs**. For example, the public retelling has now potentially involved all those present while securing Bu Sumaryono* and Bu Joko as colluders in the telling. Just as importantly, knowledge about **moral stance** relating to behavior is increasingly something that becomes publicly

shared within this ward. As we will see, this process continues in the following talk (Extract 5.6).

Extract 5.6 Doing othering through represented speech

Bu Naryono		
114	= **wong lagé embèn ngéné toh**	**A while ago** [she] **came here**
115	**nang kéné**? . saya tuh sewaktu	[and said] at some time or another
116	waktu #pind:ah'# =	I will move [from here].
Bu Sumaryono*		
117	= **kabéh** +**w:ong**+? =	**All people** [move]
Bu Naryono		
118	= ***lah iya***' =	***That is right***.
Bu Sumaryono*		
119	= semua +orang+ . **wong** kantor aja	All people, even office **people**,
120	tidak ada menetap #(???) (???)# .	none stay forever (???) (???).

What is interesting in Extract 5.6 is the alternation from *ngoko* Javanese in lines 114–115 to Indonesian in lines 115–116. Here such alternation can be classified as **codeswitching**, for two reasons. The first is that different **mediums** are used in the first and second intonational units. Secondly, this alternation appears to keep us in the story world by representing what Bu Tobing* has said in the past. With recourse to perduring **SRs** that have "Indonesian" and "stranger" within their constellation of signs, here I also suggest that such **codeswitching** helps add "Indonesian" to the locally emerging **SR** relating to outsiders. In doing so, it also reinforces the insider **SR**, which has within its category of signs "Javanese usage and talk about personal life worlds associated with ward life."

This interpretation also seems supported by both the representation of first person reference and Bu Sumaryono's response. For example, the use of the form *saya* (line 115) – which is stereotypically associated with Indonesian – contrasts with these participants' usage among themselves of the form *aku* (e.g. Extract 5.4). This points to a reading of the relationship between Bu Naryono and Bu Tobing* as "different than" the relationship between the conversationalists at this meeting. Bu Sumaryono* also seems to have made such an interpretation, as illustrated by her subsequent turn which, in contrast to her prior turns, is now in NJ.

Such an interpretation also sits with what I know about both participants' competences in KJ forms and Indonesian. Basically, Bu Naryono could have used KJ to represent Bu Tobing's speech had she wished and Bu Sumaryono* could have used Indonesian if she had wanted, as she had done previously and one turn later (e.g. lines 119–120). Moreover, in switching to NJ, Bu Sumaryono* is also situationally positioning herself as a NJ-speaking insider in contrast to Bu Tobing*, the Indonesian-speaking outsider. Taken together,

these social practices further contribute to the solidifying of local identity categories, which simultaneously become part of emerging **SRs**.

In the following two extracts we see how the local norm of "appearing friendly" (e.g. Extract 5.4) begins to be associated with embodied behavior and **medium** choice. In doing so, it helps to further solidify links between particular **medium** usage and specific identities. Extract 5.7 represents talk that occurred directly after that represented in Extract 5.6.

Extract 5.7 Indonesian, embodied behavior, and unfriendliness

Bu Sumaryono*		
121	{ laporan itu lah'	[she is only seen??] when she has to report [to the ward]
Bu Nurholis		
122	{ **dijaluki** sebelahnya itu ***loh*** bu	[If] **asked for** [contributions] from
123	matius =	the one beside Mrs. Matius you ***know who I mean***.
Bu Joko		
124	= saya tuh mau pindah	"I will be moving house."
125	tempat =	
Bu Naryono		
126	= oh gitu ***toh*** =	Oh is that right ***is it***?
Bu Nurholis		
127	= heeh =	Yes.
Bu Naryono		
128	=	
129	>**dijaluki** #**opo** ***anu*** #> sepuluh	[If] **asked for what** ***what is it***
130	ribu:? . >**ketoké** ***anu*** +***sinis*** **kaé**	10000 **she looks** really sour-faced
131	***loh*** bu? **aku yo ora** ***enak ngemis***	Bu [Nurholis and others present]
132	+ **ngono loh**> . #**wegah aku**#(5.0)	**yeah I'm not** comfortable begging **it's like that**, **I don't want to**.

From the talk in the previous extract (5.6) and from that in Extract 5.4 (lines 88–90) we know that Bu Naryono has apparently had face-to-face interactions with Bu Tobing*, which Bu Naryono represented as being in Indonesian. We have also seen that repetition of utterances is a common collusive strategy amongst Bu Joko, Bu Nurholis and Bu Naryono. In the above talk we can see all of these ways of speaking being appropriated and recontextualized to further position Bu Tobing* as a deviant Indonesian-speaking outsider.

Such **enregisterment** also appears within and across speech events, that is, within a series of speech chains. For example, Bu Joko reports on what appears to be an occasion that she and Bu Nurholis met with Bu Tobing* when they went to collect money from her (lines 122–127). Note here that Bu Joko and Bu Nurholis appear to have been told the same thing by Bu Tobing* (lines 124–125) as Bu Naryono, namely that Bu Tobing* said she would be moving. Bu Tobing's talk is also represented as being "said in Indonesian." This Indonesian usage

also co-occurs with Bu Joko's use of the Indonesian form of self-reference (*saya*) used earlier by Bu Naryono when reporting Bu Tobing's talk. Again this contrasts with Bu Naryono's use of *aku* for self reference when talking about her affective disposition toward Bu Tobing* (lines 131–132). Thus, the above talk seems to have some clear interdiscursive relations with Bu Naryono's earlier report of her interaction with Bu Tobing* (see Extract 5.6, lines 115–116).

Just as importantly, we also see that Bu Naryono's earlier representation of Bu Tobing* as unfriendly (Extract 5.4) is now given a behavioral description, namely that of looking "sour-faced" (line 130). This adds to the emerging **semiotic registers** discussed thus far. For example, "looking sour-faced" becomes attached to the **SR** associated with outsiders while at the same time persons belonging to this constellation of signs are again represented as Indonesian-speaking. The flip side of this, so to speak, is that "not looking sour-faced" is attached to the locally emerging insider **SR**, which among other things has "Javanese linguistic forms" and "talk about personal experience" within its category of signs. We also see that the **social domain** of expectations for behavior and sign usage appear to widen to now publicly include one more person, Bu Nurholis.

In the following extract (Extract 5.8) we see continued collusion between participants, with Bu Sumaryono* pointing to potential solutions to such deviant behavior (lines 133–134), including the type of avoidance that was initially suggested as a solution in Extract 5.4. This talk occurs after a brief conversation

Extract 5.8 Solidifying identities and embodied behavior

Bu Sumaryono*		
133	= (??? ???) lagi . ya jadi dikucilkan	(???) (???) again, yeah, just don't
134	aja' nggak usah' . { apa tujuh	include [her] it's not necessary.
135	belasan juga nggak usah .	What if [we] also don't invite [her] to the 17th of [August] celebrations?
Bu Naryono		
136	{***dianu*** dia itu	***We will-*** Her **wish is like this** "I
137	**karepé iki**? . nggak mau urusan	don't want to be involved in these
138	gini gini itu . #nggak mau# =	sorts of matters (organizing celebrations), [I] don't want [to]."
Bu Kris**		
139	= oh ya ndak boleh? =	Oh that's not allowed.
Bu Naryono		
140	= kumpul	[She] also doesn't want to
141	juga nggak mau' =	socialize.
Bu Sumaryono*		
142	=**kenal baé**	[She] doesn't **want to say hello to**
143	**wong** . nggak **gelem** ok'. lewat	**others she doesn't know**, she just
144	aja? { nggak	walks by, doesn't . . .

(three turns) between Bu Joko, Bu Naryono and Bu Nurholis about whether their previous interactions with Bu Tobing* related to paying for garbage collection.

In further positioning Bu Tobing* as deviant we see continued collusion between Bu Naryono and Bu Sumaryono*, and we also see that Bu Kris** becomes involved. Moreover, in addition to the use of repetition in lines 141 and 143 as one collusive strategy, Bu Tobing's deviant behavior within this ward is further added to and/or modified through talk about her personal interactional preferences. For example, while her deviance was primarily related to her lack of interest in ward matters (e.g. lines 137–138), here it begins to emerge as a personal trait. That is to say, she not only doesn't like socializing with neighbors within meetings (lines 140–141) but she won't even say hello to her neighbors (lines 142–144).

This talk provides us with further insights into how the tellers wish themselves to be publicly perceived, while also giving us further information on expectations about what is considered normative behavior in this ward. Moreover, the above talk also adds further to earlier notions of what it means to be friendly. In this sense, this local definition is further solidified while also undergoing some modification. For example, we see that friendliness is further modified in terms of embodied behavior and interactional preferences. We also see that the persons who fit this category within this ward stay pretty much the same, albeit with the addition of Bu Kris** as someone who fits into the category of "good neighbor." This is achieved in part through Bu Kris's unchallenged ability to evaluate another's behavior in relation to ward expectations.

Medium alternation practices also help to reinforce these emerging **SRs**. For example, again we see that Bu Tobing's language use is represented as "in Indonesian": in this case Bu Tobing's inner state or wishes are now represented as "thought about" in Indonesian (lines 137–138). Note also that while the alternation from an utterance containing NJ fragments (line 137) may have been used as a device to indicate a change in **footing** (see Goffman, 1981), it also provides contrasts of self-presentation in NJ and other representation in Indonesian.

This type of language alternation is also used by Bu Sumaryono* (a non-Javanese migrant) in her further positioning of Bu Tobing* (also a non-Javanese migrant). This also helps thicken Bu Sumaryono's previously emerging identity as a "Javanese-speaking insider" or "Javanese-speaking good neighbor." Such a reading appears especially appropriate because of: (1) Bu Naryono's previous portrayal of Bu Tobing* as an Indonesian-speaking deviant neighbor or outsider; (2) Bu Sumaryono's use of Javanese tokens in talk in the previous interactions; and (3) Bu Sumaryono's account of Bu Tobing* as unsociable also implies that Bu Sumaryono* herself is not a person who fits such a category and proof of that is that she can speak Javanese. In this sense, any sign by itself is quite

ambiguous. But as the interaction unfolds, the types of identities and participant positions become less ambiguous, and as social identification proceeds, so does the development of local **SRs**.

In the following extract we see how Bu Tobing's deviant Indonesian-speaking outsider status further solidifies through the recontextualization of some earlier conversational strategies on the part of Bu Naryono, as well as through the use of some locally relevant outsider identities. The talk in Extract 5.9 continues directly after that represented in Extract 5.8 above.

Extract 5.9 Newcomers as insiders in processes of social identification

Bu Naryono		
145	{ kan? ***aku* ngené**? .	Actually ***I* said**
Bu Zainudin*		
&146	{ bu tobing #kan?# =	Mrs. Tobing right?
Bu Kris?**		
&147	= iya =	Yes.
Bu Naryono		
148	{ b::u? ya . >nggak ikut arisan	Mrs., yeah if you don't participate
149	nggak apa apa> #datang aja {	in the monthly lottery that is ok,
150	nggak apa-apa'# =	just come along that is ok.
Bu Zainudin*		
&151	=	Where [does] she [Mrs. Tobing]
&152	>rumahnya sebelah mana>? =	live?
Bu Kris**		
&153	=	The one near Mrs. Taufik's ***you with me***, ***I'm*** also not absolutely
&154	yang di bu taufik itu ***loh aku*** juga	
&155	nggak tahu persis'	sure.
Bu Sumaryono*		
156	{ (???)	Mrs. Zainudin's **husband** right
157	**bojoné** bu:: bu zainudin **iki loh**	**here is a westerner**, (???) (???)
158	**wong** barat (???) (???)	(Indonesia?)
159	(indonesia?) (0.6)	
Bu Naryono?		
160	iya =	Yes.
Bu Sumaryono*		
161	= itu mau bergaul? > (???)	[he] wants to socialize (???) (???)
162	(???) tahu bermanfaat'> . date:ng?	[he] knows the benefits and
163	(???) (???) laughs (1.6)	attends (???) (???)

The talk in the above extract adds to Bu Tobing's position as a deviant outsider through a number of conversational moves. In the first instance we see that Bu Naryono slightly recontextualizes her previous **codeswitching** practices of representing Bu Tobing's talk as "said in Indonesian" to Bu Naryono's talk as "said in Indonesian" (lines 148–150) when speaking to Bu Tobing*. In doing so, this further contrasts with her use of NJ forms with those present. During Bu Naryono's interaction with Bu Sumaryono* we also see that Bu Zainudin*,

another non-Javanese and my spouse, asks if the person being spoken about is Bu Tobing* (line 146). This not only produces a short parallel conversation with Bu Kris** (this parallel conversation is indicated by a "&" prefixed to line numbers 146–147 and 151–155), but it also appears to provide Bu Sumaryono* with a resource to impress Bu Tobing's outsider status.

As we can see in lines 156–159 and 161–163 Bu Sumaryono* draws on my identity (that is, Bu Zainudin's husband) as a foreigner through a comparison of my attendance at male ward meetings with that of Bu Tobing*. Such a comparison intensifies Bu Tobing's deviant position by describing a foreigner, me, as more of a good neighbor (whether true or not) than Bu Tobing*, an Indonesian citizen. Notably, Bu Sumaryono's utterance also contains NJ fragments. This action may provide further evidence to others about her own insider status and rights to make claims about what characteristics make an insider and an outsider. It is also interesting to note that Bu Sumaryono* starts to mention the benefit of attending ward meetings, which hitherto has not entered into any of the talk about Bu Tobing*. Although it is only in the following talk – which follows directly from that represented above – that we actually get some idea of what these benefits might be for attendees.

Extract 5.10 Repetition, surprise and needing one's neighbors

Bu Naryono		
164	(eh ???) anu **karepé iki**? .	Eh, ah **her wish is like this**, "As it
165	pokoknya >saya tuh di sini tuh>	stands. I'm here just for a while,"
166	cuma sebentar? . #**ngono loh**# =	**[she] said it like that**.
Bu Sumaryono*		
167	=	
168	**ngomongé ngono**? =	**She said that?**
Bu Naryono		
169	= heeh? (0.6)	That is right.
170	saya tuh di sini > cuma sebentar	"I'm only here for a while, later
171	nanti sewaktu waktu saya tuh bisa	on at any time I will move." But
172	#pind::ah# (0.9) +tapi kan?	don't [you] agree, as long as [she]
173	selama+ #bertempat tinggal di sini	lives here [she] has to, you agree ?
174	{ seharusnya# +ya+?	
Bu Sumaryono*		
175	{ >ya semua orang (???) itu bu	Yes all people (???), a while back
176	muslim dulu apa #nggak# tuh> =	Mrs. Muslim or [I] don't know
Bu Naryono		
177	=	
178	heeh =	Yes.
Bu Sumaryono*		
179	= >ibu siapa lagi tuh?> . apa	Mrs. who else, wouldn't
180	engg:a'=	
Bu Naryono		
181	= ***lah iya*** =	***Yes that is right***.

Extract 5.10 (*cont.*)

Bu Sumaryono*		
182	= >semua orang	Everyone right, is going to move?
183	kan? pakai pindahan> =	
Bu Naryono		
184	= heeh =	Yes.
Bu Sumaryono*		
185	= ya	Yes,
186	apalagi yang ngontrak mengontrak	especially those who lease [a
187	kan? . dia kan (0.4) tidak menetap	house] right? They don't stay, isn't
188	gitu' . (kan?) tapi kan kita butuh?	that right? But we need to know
189	(0.5) kenal ya butuh entah kita	[our neighbors] right? In case we
190	sak::it . (entah apa kalau	are sick (in case um if you know
191	kenalan??) (laughs) =	[your neighbor]??) (laughs).
Bu Naryono		
192	= ***lah iya*** .	***That is right***.

In beginning to analyze the above talk we can see that Bu Naryono's earlier pattern of codeswitching used to represent Bu Tobing's speech as "said in Indonesian" is continued on lines 165–166 and 170–172. In doing so, the category of deviant Indonesian-speaking outsider continues to be associated with Bu Tobing*. This process is helped through the contrast of Bu Naryono's and Bu Sumaryono's NJ usage at lines 164, 166 and 168, which positions them as the opposite. Interestingly, Bu Sumaryono* seems to express surprise (line 168) as to what Bu Tobing* has reportedly said (lines 165–166) even though in Extract 5.6 (lines 114–116) Bu Naryono said the same thing to Bu Sumaryono*. In this sense, we are also seeing interdiscursive relationships where repetition of prior utterances seems to be treated as new public information and further evidence of Bu Tobing's deviant character. Note also that evaluation of Bu Tobing's behavior continue to be in Indonesian (e.g. lines 172–174). For her part Bu Sumaryono* also offers local reasons as to why being neighborly is important: namely the need to know one's neighbors if one is sick and so on.

The above also allows insights into how expectations about reciprocity are articulated by some neighbors in this type of transient diverse urban community. Indeed, these types of conversational narratives fill a gap in a setting where rules for conduct cannot be taken for granted because participants do not share backgrounds with neighbors. In particular, we see how attendance at monthly meetings, payment of monthly dues, and using linguistic tokens stereotypically associated with Javanese are linked with ensuring reciprocity in the form of assistance in times of need. If the above represents the soft approach to reciprocity, then the last part of this speech event can be seen as representing a much harder approach. In this case Bu Naryono agrees to a previous solution offered

by Bu Sumaryono* (Extract 5.5, lines 111–113), namely the withholding of the all-important *surat pindah* "letter of residence change" from the ward head. The talk represented in Extract 5.11 below continues immediately on from that in the previous extract.

Extract 5.11 Begging, shame and resolutions

Bu Naryono		
193	= #(???) (???)# . { nanti +kalau	(???) (???) Latter, if I am asked to go
194	saya suruh ke sana lagi+ . saya	there again um, I'd
195	***anu***? . #malu#	***um*** be ashamed.
Bu Sumaryono*		
196	{ bu zainudin .	Mrs. Zainudin,
197	jery kenal? semua orang' (0.9)	Jery is known to all.
198	(said while laughing)	
Bu Naryono		
199	{ kok'	But.
Bu Sumaryono*		
200	{ jerynya keluar' { di:+kej+a:r'	Jery comes out [of the house], everybody wants to play [with him].
Bu Zainudin*		
201	{ iya (said	Yes.
202	while laughing) =	
Bu Naryono		
203	= %***kok*** **koyokné**	***Heh***, **it looks like *I* am the one**
204	**iki**? . ***aku*** **ki** butuh duit **jaluk** duit	[who] needs money **asking for**
205	**nggo opo ngono *loh***? . **ketoké**? =	money **for whatever**, **it's like that**, **that's what it looks like**.
Bu Sumaryono*		
206	=	
207	hm =	Yes.
Bu Naryono		
208	= **koyok**? >***tak*** **enggo**	**It's like *I*** [will] **keep the money for**
209	**deweké ngono *loh***'>% =	**myself**, ***it's like*** **that**.
Bu Sumaryono*		
210	= kayak	It's like
211	kit::a . kita ngemis ya' padahal? =	we, we are begging in fact.
Bu Naryono		
212	= +heeh+ .	Yes.
Bu Pujianto		
213	>kita **kih nek** butuh **opo opo**	**If** we need **anything**, [then] **it is our**
214	**#iki#** > . **d::iusulké genten'** .	**turn** [to help out] **we think about it**.
Bu Naryono		
215	***lah iya***? . { **njaluk** surat	***That's right*** [if she] **asks for** a letter
216	**#suraté#**	**a letter**.

Extract 5.11 (*cont.*)

Bu Sumaryono*		
217	{ **wis *toh* jaluk** surat	**Ok then** [if she] **asks for a letter**, a
218	**suraté** rt #nggak usah dikasih	ward **letter**, [then] it's **just** not
219	**waé'** (???)'# .	necessary to give it to [her] (???).
Bu Pujianto		
220	>warga **déwé** { **ra tahu** malu >	Our **own** neighbor **isn't** ashamed, ***it's***
221	**#ngono *loh#*** . nggak tahu saya	***like* that.** "I don't know."
Bu Sumaryono*		
222	{ #kita tuh jadi	For us who have become good ward
223	warga yang baik itu# malu?	members, [we are] ashamed, at most
224	paling juga berapa sih bayarnya'	how much do we have to pay heh, us
225	(0.6) >kita di rt tuh berapa paling	in this ward how much at the most at
226	paling> . **#rong ewu mangatus#**	the most, **two thousand five**
227	(0.9)	**hundred** [rupiah].
Bu Naryono		
228	***lah iya*** (0.6) ***lah*** terus itu	***Yes that's right. Now*** the money, its
229	uangnya? . #cuma seratus lima	only one hundred and fifty [thousand
230	puluh# =	rupiah].
Bu Joko		
231	= seratus lima puluh'	one hundred and fifty [thousand].

The above talk not only continues the patterns of medium usage analyzed so far (e.g. low-pitched and nasal pronunciation is associated with negative affect and Javanese, Javanese usage by insiders and the use of foreigner identities to position Bu Tobing* as an outsider), but it also publicly provides a general category for persons who do not attend meetings and do not pay, namely that they are not good neighbors. Such a generalization is also followed with a resolution about not providing such persons with important letters if requested. Just as importantly, such a resolution, which was offered earlier by Bu Sumaryono* (Extract 5.5, lines 111–113) appears to be ratified by Bu Naryono (the head of the ward) but only after Bu Pujianto – the eldest female in this ward – provides her opinion on the matter.

In constructing such a category, the talk also provides some further insights into expectations about decision-making in this ward. For example, it shows how age – which was often discussed in meta-pragmatic talk about interpersonal relations in interviews (see Section 6.2) – becomes situationally relevant. This last piece of talk also offers insights into how neighbors should feel if they behave in a manner similar to Bu Tobing*, that is to say, they should feel ashamed (lines 195, 220, 221). Note also that being ashamed or embarrassed is indexed with having to ask for or beg for money from one's neighbors. In this sense, this last extract provides further insights into how one should feel in a number of situations within this ward. Bu Pujianto's contribution also represents a widening of the **social domain** of the story and its associated

signs, which now includes Bu Naryono, Bu Nurholis, Bu Joko, Bu Kris**, Bu Sumaryono* and Bu Pujianto.

It is also the case that the continued focus upon Bu Zainudin* may be a result of her non-contribution to the negative evaluations of Bu Tobing* that have hitherto come from an ever-increasing number of participants with each retelling, but have yet to be added to by everyone present. This seems to contribute to the occasioning of one final retelling some twenty minutes later. I won't reproduce the talk here but just summarize the retelling. The time between the narrative discussed and this last retelling is devoted to a number of topics. These include talk about who would be cooking what and the ward sports competitions, before a move back to ward finance as it relates to funding the upcoming Independence Day celebrations in August. Bu Pujianto reiterates that there in fact many ward members who have not paid and do not like to attend nor pay. Without mentioning any names, Bu Naryono and Bu Nurholis note that this type of behavior is totally unacceptable. In doing so, they jointly reproduce the categories of personhood established earlier.

Shortly thereafter, Bu Tobing's unhospitable behavior toward visitors is again mentioned by Bu Nurholis and Bu Naryono, before Bu Suntoro suggests they pretend to visit as neighbors rather than as ward officials. This is done through a report of an anticipated interaction with Bu Tobing* where she is again represented as an "Indonesian speaker." The **social domain** of this story and its associated signs has thus widened to include one further participant, Bu Suntoro. Bu Joko and Bu Sumaryono* then reiterate that the ward need not invite Bu Tobing* to the Independence Day celebrations. After Bu Naryono again reminds everyone that Bu Tobing* doesn't ask after neighbors when passing, Bu Abdurrahman* then asks if the person being talked about is a Batak, from North Sumatra. This social identification is ratified in a way which helps her, and perhaps others, understand this deviant behavior as an ethnic trait with recourse to local stereotypes (see Sections 3.3. and 8.4) about those of Batak ethnicity. Such stereotypes include a propensity to pretend to be wealthy, to ignore those who one knows but who may not be wealthy, and to avoid those who aren't wealthy like one avoids rotten eggs. The **social domain** of the story and its associated signs thus widens further to include Bu Abdurrahman*, who has hitherto not made any contribution to the story apart from her initial question about Bu Tobing's identity (Extract 5.3).

5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have looked at how insider and outsider identities emerge in conversational narratives among ward members from diverse backgrounds. I have done this by focusing on how such interactional work is simultaneously linked with the construction of expectations for social conduct within this

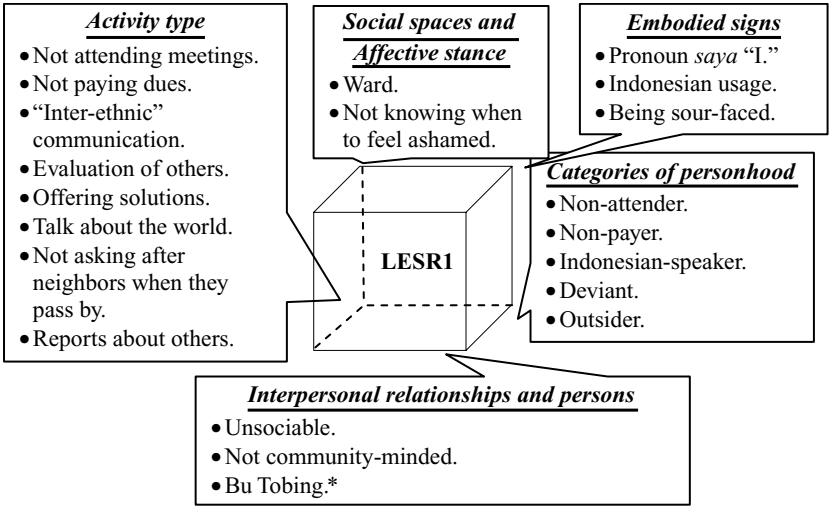

Diagram 5.2 Locally Emerging Semiotic Register 1 (LESR1)

ward. Such expectations are jointly constructed insofar as problematic events (i.e. breaches in expectations about social conduct) are noted by one participant, while evaluations of this event and the associated behaviors of antagonists are often done by others, as is the posing of solutions. I have suggested that this co-production, along with the associated retelling of prior stories, figures in the widening of the **social domain** of expectations and their associated signs.

I have also explored relationships with prior local and perduring **semiotic registers**. For example, signs from these perduring **semiotic registers** (e.g. *gotong royong* "working together for mutual benefit" and the language–identity associations highlighted in Diagrams 2.1 to 2.3) seem to have been appropriated and recontextualized in the service of local social identification projects. In doing so, we can suggest that the above interactional work also produces emergent **SRs** (summarized in Diagrams 5.2 and 5.3). Such emergent **SRs** can be likened to the systems of trust, expectation or habitus which are the focus of some social theorists (e.g. Bourdieu, 1977; Goffman, 1974, 1983; Giddens, 1984, 1990). Indeed, processes of social identification also appear simultaneously to highlight expectations for behavior and ways of feeling within this ward.

While conversational narratives of the type examined here produce identities and expectations for social conduct, they also resemble potential lessons for newcomers to this ward. In a language socialization sense (e.g. Ochs, 1986, 1988; Ochs & Capps, 2001), then, by participating – both as observers and speakers – in narrative activities, newcomers learn how they should behave and

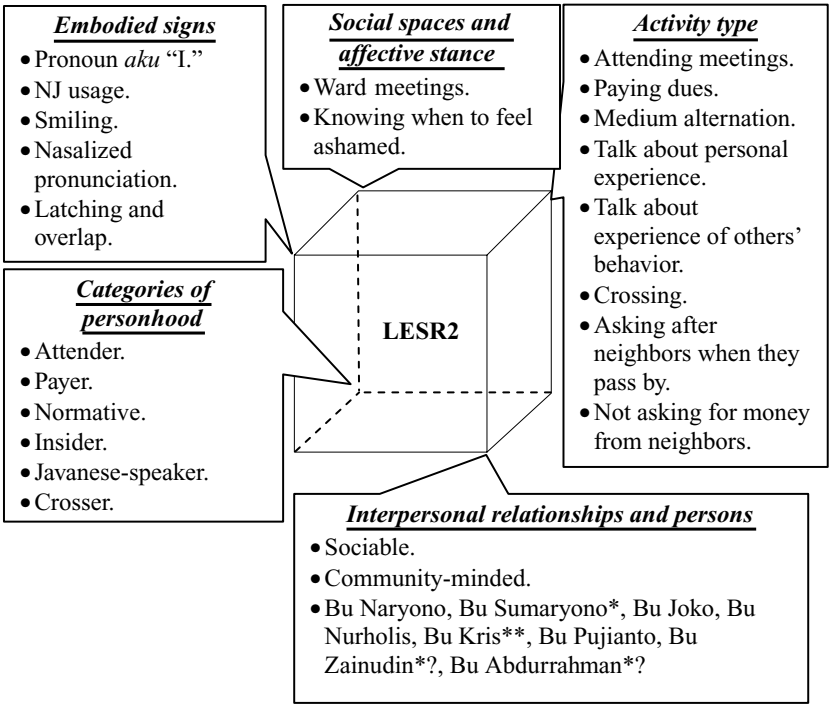

Diagram 5.3 Locally Emerging Semiotic Register 2 (LESR2)

how to use certain signs to do interactional work. However, without recourse to further talk and observation of their interaction within this ward, it is hard to establish if such learning takes place and whether and to what extent their identities will solidify as insiders or something else. This is why I have put a question mark after Bu Abdurrahman* and Bu Zainudin* in Diagram 5.3 (bottom right box). Put slightly differently, attention to these issues also provides input into questions of cultural reproduction and change in contact situations. In the next chapter I want to explore these questions by examining whether and to what extent these signs have been learned – that is, appropriated, recontextualized and ratified across speech situations – by looking at one newcomer's subsequent interactions in other meetings.

In concluding, I also wish to make four comments. The first is that Bu Sumaryono's and Bu Kris's practice of **adequation** allows us to start to question perduring language ideologies that link a **LOTI** (in this case *ngoko* Javanese) with ethnic identity. I will continue to explore this issue in the following chapters. The second is that this chapter offers an example of how notions of **semiotic register** and **semiotic encounters** (e.g. Wortham, 2006; Agha, 2007)

can bring together identity-based (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993) and ethnomethodological (e.g. Auer, 1995; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002; Li Wei, 2002) approaches to language alternation. For example, the idea of perduring **semiotic registers** fits closely with the first approach, which draws heavily upon ideologies about language use and identity. The idea that signs, as part of any language ideology, have a history and are appropriable in talk then allows us to flesh out ethnomethodological approaches to language alternation (e.g. Gafaranga, 2001; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002).

Identity-based and ethnomethodological approaches have been combined here by making links between perduring signs and their situated usage a focus of accounts of language alternation, in a way that mirrors recent but more general accounts of ethnomethodology (e.g. Francis & Hester, 2004). In the next chapter I go one step further by exploring how an ethnographic approach to language alternation can also be linked to these two approaches. This will be done primarily by examining the relationship of sign usage from one speech situation to the next, that is, by examining a series of local **semiotic encounters** separated by time and space.

Thirdly, while my interpretation of the narratives discussed in this chapter benefited greatly from ethnographic work, I have not made an overt attempt to link narrative activity with much of the local context. For example, apart from pointing out that these narratives were locally occasioned, I haven't taken into consideration whether and to what extent factors such as time of year, social space, level of ward finances, and so on might have helped shape the topic of narratives. Indeed, we might well ask whether and to what extent the types of identities that emerged in this meeting would have been possible if this ward was in a better financial position and if Independence Day celebrations were not an imminent social event. In the next few chapters, comparisons with narratives that occur in subsequent female meetings and male meetings in this ward will allow me to consider these types of factors. Finally, and for those wishing to know how the talk represented above impacted on Bu Tobing*, I can say that while Bu Tobing* did attend the meeting in the following month, she did not attend subsequent ones. This was because she and her family moved out of this ward to the house that they had been building in another neighborhood.

6 Learning to Become a Good Ward Member

6.0 Introduction

In Chapter 5 I explored how expectations about social conduct in this diverse and transient ward emerged through narratives. Such interactions can be characterized as local-level **speech chains** which help constitute and reproduce a small **community of practice** (**COP**) and with it a number of locally emerging **SRs**. In this chapter I explore how one newcomer's observations of such conversational activities helps reproduce and change the signs that constitute the locally emerging **SRs** discussed in Chapter 5. In this sense, a newcomer's participation as a bystander resembles a "peripheral participant" (cf. Wenger, 1998) within a larger **COP** where they have the *opportunity* to learn guidelines on how to become – and what it means to be – a member of a larger **COP**. I have emphasized "opportunity" to highlight that learning can't be assumed to happen. Indeed, in order to investigate whether any learning has occurred, we need to see whether and to what extent signs from the type of **SRs** noted in Diagrams 5.2 and 5.3 are appropriated and recontextualized, and then oriented to, or ratified, in that and subsequent interactions. In doing so, we can establish whether and to what extent signs from earlier speech situations are **enregistered** or change in subsequent interactions. Section 6.1 considers whether and to what extent one newcomer in particular learns such guidelines.

Put slightly differently, what I present in this chapter is a developmental view of conversational style (Tannen, 1984), whereby routine participation in certain speech situations involving certain participant constellations figures in the formation of these styles. In both views, however, learning is defined in terms of whether and to what extent participants are able to appropriate and recontextualize signs. Learning here also means that participants can read these recontextualized signs as "contextualization" cues (Gumperz, 1982a) that signify certain meanings for members of an emerging **COP**. Thus, the task of Section 6.2 is to situate this newcomer's learning into wider patterns of linguistic sign exchange and its relationship to ward members' **trajectories of socialization**.

6.1 Enregisterment across speech situations

In this section I focus primarily on one newcomer, Bu Zainudin* (my significant other), and her interactions in this ward during our two-and-a-half-year stay. I start by looking at a fragment of her talk in the meeting that followed one month after the meeting analyzed in the previous chapter. Her participation here represents the second ward meeting that Bu Zainudin* had attended in her lifetime, although she had noted that as part of her school curriculum in high school she had participated in similar types of meetings as they related to school and extra-curricular activities. I then move forward four months to another monthly meeting that occurred at a time when a new resident had just moved into Ward 8 (Extracts 6.2 and 6.3). I finish by drawing on observations of Bu Zainudin's talk with neighbors in other settings along with her interactions with other Javanese friends.

The talk represented in Extract 6.1 occurs about twenty minutes into the monthly ward meeting that was held on a Saturday afternoon in early August 1996. There are sixteen participants of whom fourteen are heads of household (the other two include Bu Nurholis's young boy and a thirteen-year-old Javanese girl who is a ward member's adopted child. She attends these meetings in place of Bu Tri, although she usually only stays to give monetary contributions). This conversation is preceded by Bu Zainudin* asking Bu Sumaryono* about whether the lottery (*arisan*, see Chapter 3, Note 3) has finished and whether new members can take part.

Extract 6.1 Repetition: evidence of a learned rapport strategy?

Bu Sumaryono*		
1	>kita buka dula bu ***ya***> . biar	We will draw the lottery ahead of
2	tahu? untuk bulan' =	time, ***yeah***. So that for [next] month
Bu Joko		
3	= arisan	[the] drawing of the lottery
4	keluarnya =	
Bu Sumaryono*		
5	= untuk bulan depan ke	For next month the
6	ketempatan ibu' =	host [will be] Mrs.
Bu Indro		
7	= (???) nanti'	(???) later that.
8	itu? =	
Bu Sumaryono*		
9	= ah ***ya*** > ***ya ya*** lupa' nah	Oh ***yes***. ***Yes yes*** [I] forgot, now what
10	terus?> . +gimana? buat bu	should we do about Mrs.
11	indro+ ini bu:? .	Indro here?
Bu Nurholis?		
12	kenapa bu'=	What Mrs. [Sumaryono]
Bu Sumaryono*		
13	= rencana bulan	[her] plan next month,
14	depan? **.** <mau pindah'< =	is to move.

Extract 6.1 (*cont.*)

Bu ?		
15	= bulan	This month.
16	ini? =	
Bu Zainudin*		
17	= bulan ini' =	This month.
Bu Sumaryono*		
18	= bulan ini	This month,
19	***ya***' .	***is it***?
Bu ?		
20	agustus' =	August.
Bu Joko?		
21	= { (??? ???) bu indro'	(??? ???) Mrs. Indro.
Bu Sumaryono*		
22	{ agustus ini pindah' ..	This August [she will] move.
23	{ jadi	So
Bu Nurholis		
24	{ pindah **PUNDI** ***toh*** bu' .	**WHERE** will you move to Mrs. [Indro]?
Bu Indro		
25	tegal bu' =	Tegal Mrs. [Nurholis].
Bu Sumaryono*		
26	= ke tegal? { ikut suami tugas di	To Tegal, with her husband [who has]
27	sana?	transferred to there.
Bu Nurholis		
28	{ o:h?	Oh. **EVERYONE** (the whole
29	>**SEDANTEN**'> **.**	family)?
Bu Indro		
30	**INJJIH**? bu' heeh =	**YES** Mrs. [Nurholis] yes.
Bu Nurholis		
31	= o::h? (1.0)	Oh.
32	**wis dikeluarké'** =	**Ok draw** [the lottery].
Bu Sumaryono*		
33	= ini dikeluarkan	[shall we] draw [the lottery] ahead of
34	dulu' =	time?
Bu Zainudin*		
35	= he'eh =	Yes.
Bu ?		
36	= keluarkan dulu'	Draw [the lottery] ahead of time.
37	=	
Bu Zainudin*		
38	= ***ya*** mending dikeluarkan	***Yes*** it is better to draw [the lottery].

In the above talk the use of repetition stands out as evidence of potential learning on Bu Zainudin's part. For example, the use of *bulan* "month" (lines 2, 5, 13–18) and *keluarkan* "to draw" (lines 32, 36 and 38) show that Bu Zainudin* uses this strategy for showing agreement with others' talk and for colluding in decision-making. Of course, we cannot say with any certainty that such repetition was learned through participation in the last meeting because it

may well have been learned in other contexts. In terms of medium choice we do not see any evidence of Bu Zainudin* using any Javanese forms from the emergent LESR2 discussed in the previous chapter (e.g. Diagram 5.3). Even so, there are many continuities with the ways of speaking discussed in the last few sections, which may reinforce some of the communicative practices Bu Zainudin* observed in the previous meeting.

For example, Bu Sumaryono* continues to engage in **adequation** into *ngoko* Javanese, although this is much less than in the previous meeting. This is perhaps explainable because Bu Naryono, the ward head, and the person doing much of the talking in NJ in the last meeting, is not present. There is also an additional non-Javanese, Bu Tobing*, who in the last meeting was represented as an Indonesian-speaking deviant. Interestingly, we also see the use of forms stereotypically associated with KJ by Bu Indro in response to Bu Nurholis's questions in KJ (lines 24, 29, 30). This usage seems to indicate that a different type of relationship exists between these two – despite being age mates – in comparison with other dyads. For example, we have seen that participant constellations, such as Bu Nurholis-Bu Naryono and Bu Naryono-Bu Joko, are characterized by exchanges of NJ. Bu Indro, who wasn't at the last meeting, may well have been only an irregular attendee at previous meetings, especially given her long work hours and work weeks. The lack of shared knowledge about just exactly when Bu Indro was moving, and that she was in fact going to move, also suggest an unfamiliar relationship between Bu Nurholis and Bu Indro, despite living directly opposite each other for many years. This was highlighted to my research assistants in a number of interviews where this transcript was the focus of attention.

In the meeting that occurred four months later we see more solid evidence for Bu Zainudin's learning. We also see the existence of expectations on the part of her Javanese neighbors that she has in fact begun to learn Javanese because some of their talk directed at her contains NJ tokens. Extract 6.2 below is taken from this meeting. It is of an interaction that occurs about fifteen minutes into the recording. It is preceded by an interaction about a new member of the ward who has leased Bu Indro's house and opened a business that requires frequent trips by heavy trucks into the ward.

In starting our analysis we can say that Bu Zainudin's attendance at this and all prior meetings shows that she has learnt that she should attend these meetings. I should also note that while I asked Bu Zainudin* to make recordings at a number of meetings, generally her attendance at these meetings, and indeed the following twenty or so meetings, was in her capacity as a ward member rather than as a research assistant. In Extract 6.2 we can see that Bu Zainudin* appears to narrate a problematic event or disjuncture involving a non-present participant. (Similarly to the types of narrative activity found in the July meeting, we see that the solution is offered by another participant on

Extract 6.2 Narrating and understanding Javanese

Bu Zainudin*		
1	>itu yang punya bu indro itunya	That [house] of Mrs. Indro's, Mrs.
2	bu'> . tempat ininya tuh . kasihan	[Pujianto] the place, [I] feel sorry for
3	tempat apa itu . yang mau masuk	the place, what is it, [the place] where
4	garasi itu . #udah mau anjlok itu'#	you enter the garage, it is about to
5	(0.4)	collapse.
Bu Pujianto		
6	oh ***iya*** =	Is that right?
Bu Zainudin*		
7	= soalnya berat sih bu ***ya***? . kena	Because of being under the weight of
8	truk #gitu#' (1.2)	trucks Mrs. [Pujianto].
Bu Pujianto		
9	**wong** truk **sangono** { **gedené *ko***	**The** trucks **are so large**, ***indeed***.
Bu Zainudin*		
10	{ masuk	Collapse (laughs)
11	(laughs) =	
Bu Naryono		
12	= >apa ***toh***> =	What is the matter?
Bu Zainudin*		
13	= mau gotnya	The storm water drain is about to get a
14	itu? . mau bolong #gitu#' .	hole in it.
Bu Naryono		
15	oh ***iya***' =	Oh ***really***.
Bu Zainudin*		
16	= heem (0.5) { +nanti	Yes. Over time the storm water drain
17	lama lama+ gotnya masuk'	will collapse.
Bu Pujianto		
18	{ +**nganu**	**What about** [if] Mr. Naryono **is told**
19	**waé**?+ . pak naryono **kon**	**to tell** [them].
20	**ngan { dani**	
Bu Naryono		
21	{ **ENGGIH** . **MENGKÉ** .	**YES**, **LATER**. **YES** [the tenants]
22	>**ENGGIHLAH rung** laporan	**haven't yet** reported [to the ward],
23	ih> . bu .	Mrs. [Pujianto].
Bu Pujianto		
24	{***ya* ora opo opo ngandani *ko***'	***Yes* that is no problem**, [just] **tell them *anyway***.
Bu Abdurrahman*		
25	{ ngga apa apa bu?	[Do it] it isn't a problem, Mrs.
		[Naryono].

lines 18–20.) We also see that Bu Zainudin* latches onto (lines 7, 13 and 16) and overlaps (line 10) others' utterances. While we cannot be sure that she has appropriated or learned these ways of speaking from her prior meetings or from other conversational contexts, we can at least say that she appears to have learnt that this type of activity is appropriate in these types of meetings.

Of more importance, however, is that her interlocutor, Bu Pujianto, responds in NJ (line 9). This suggests that Bu Pujianto either knows that Bu Zainudin* can understand talk in NJ or expects that she should have such an ability, which as we have seen in the case of Bu Sumaryono* (Sections 5.1 to 5.4) and also for Bu Abdurrahman* above (line 25) is not unusual for non-Javanese. In Extract 6.3, which follows directly from the talk above, we see further evidence of such expectations, along with some examples of Bu Zainudin* using NJ tokens.

Extract 6.3 Speaking and understanding *ngoko* Javanese

Bu Zainudin*		
27	{ ***toh*** bu (.2) itu katanya kan adik	***Heh*** Mrs. [Naryono] he said [my]
28	(.1) itu ***loh*** bu adik saya itu? kan	younger brother ***right***, Mrs. [Naryono]
29	waktu pertama kali bawa barang	[I] mean my younger brother right, the
30	itu minta itu minta tolong sama	first time when goods were brought
31	adik saya **soalé *engga*** ada laki	[by truck to next door], [they] asked
32	laki yang mau ngangkut ngangkut	asked for help from my brother
33	nurunin itu adik saya ditolong'	**because** there were ***no*** men to lift and
34	(.2) dia (.3) dia ngangkut itu	unload [the truck]. [So] my younger
35	malam malam itu **bawaké** ke	brother helped, he, late at night he
36	ruma:h? terus dia =	lifted [their merchandise off the truck]
		and **carried it** into the house. And he.
Bu Naryono		
37	= %>**jenengé**	***Hem* that's called inconveniencing**
38	**ngerépotké tonggo** . ***kok* ngono**	**the neighbors**, **that's what doing**
39	**kuwi #jenengé#**'>% =	**that is called**.
Bu Zainudin*		
40	= ***ya*** soalnya	***Yeah*** the problem was at that time
41	***engga*** ada siapa siapa waktu itu	there was ***not*** anybody around Mrs.
42	{ sih bu' haha	[Naryono], haha.
Bu Naryono		
43	{ >***lah* salahé wong gowo**	***Yeah*** [well] **that's the problem of the**
44	**barang ra nggowo** { **wong piyé**'>	**person who brought the goods**, [gee how
		stupid] **not** [also] **bringing someone with**
		[to do this].
Bu Zainudin*		
45	{ ***ya*** adik saya	***yeah*** my younger brother felt sorry for
46	kasihan "***engga*** apa apa ditolong"	them [he thought] "it doesn't matter
47	. terus dia bilang katanya ini (.3)	I'll help," and he said they will
48	resminya sih mulai pindah tanggal	formally move in on the 22nd of
49	dua dua #desember katanya'# =	December, is what they said.
Bu Naryono		
50	=	[They] have not yet paid, just a
51	belum bayar ok itu' . #baru uang	deposit.
52	muka# =	

Extract 6.3 (*cont.*)

Bu Zainudin*		
53	= heem . >katanya	That is right. They said officially
54	resminya tanggal dua dua { nanti	[they] will [pay the full amount] on the
55	#ya#>	twenty-second, didn't they?
Bu Naryono		
56	{ nanti	Payment is later on the twenty-second.
57	dua puluh dua itu nanti {	
58	#bayarnya#	
Bu Zainudin*		
59	{ heeh .	That's right. That is what they said.
60	#katanya gitu'#	

Apart from the continued use of latching (lines 40 and 53) and overlap (lines 45 and 59), in this talk Bu Zainudin* also uses NJ suffixes "*é*" (*soalé* on line 31) and "*ké*" (*bawaké* on line 35). This seems to present some evidence of learning on the part of Bu Zainudin*. For example, she appears to have learnt that it is acceptable to use NJ to help in talking about problematic personal experiences in ward meetings. Along with her use of other signs associated with LESR2, such usage may be read as a claim on the part of Bu Zainudin* as an insider or member of this ward. Indeed, such an interpretation also seems relevant to her interlocutor, Bu Naryono, who replies in NJ (lines 37–39). As we follow her talk, however, we see that Bu Zainudin* doesn't continue to use NJ forms (lines 40–42, 45–49 and 59–60). We also see that Bu Naryono moves to using Indonesian with Bu Zainudin* (lines 51–52 and 56–58). While such usage represents **medium repair** (Section 4.1.4), nevertheless it also presents evidence of Bu Zainudin's learning of signs associated with LESR2 (Diagram 5.3). Thus, it is perhaps more accurate to describe this alternation as an instance of what Rampton (1995a) has termed **crossing**, where such sign usage represents a new and emerging **semiotic register** which has within its category of signs herself and Bu Naryono.

This position is supported by a number of data sets. The first is a count of the number of times that she was either addressed by others or used NJ or NJ tokens in these meetings, as represented in Table 6.1. This rough quantitative look shows that the talk represented in Extract 6.3 was not just a single occurrence, but that it occurred on many occasions during the December meeting as part of a broader pattern of increasingly frequent use of NJ to and by Bu Zainudin*. For example, column 8 shows that from the July 1996 meeting to the December 1996 meeting there was a five-fold increase in the amount of NJ used when speaking to Bu Zainudin*. Similarly, Bu Zainudin's NJ token usage doubled over this time, although it appeared to be restricted to the use of affixes like those discussed above and the demonstrative *iki* "this".

Table 6.1 *Increasing use of NJ with and by a newcomer to Ward 8*

Ward meeting date	Turns spoken in I	% of all turns	Addressed in I	% of all turns	Turns spoken with NJ tokens	% of all turns	Addressed in NJ	% of all turns
Jul 96	104	98	102	97	2	2	3	3
Aug 96	85	100	82	95	0	0	4	5
Dec 96	98	96	76	82	4	4	16	18

It is also important to note that, as discussed in Section 4.2, Bu Zainudin* had an advanced ability in a number of varieties of Javanese prior to participating in any of these meetings. More specifically, if we look at my knowledge of her **trajectory of socialization** we find that she was raised in an area of Ciledug in West Java (see Map 1.2), where her parents, neighbors, siblings and peers were often multilingual, using signs associated with local varieties of Javanese, Sundanese, Indonesian and Quranic Arabic. For her part, Bu Zainudin* was already a so-called native speaker of particular varieties of Javanese and Sundanese, or more precisely, she was a member of a number of **COP**, each with their own associated **SRs**, which were talked about by them in terms of widely circulating stereotypes about **LOTI**. Moreover, she also already had an ability in Semarang Javanese. This ability first developed as part of her three-year stay in Semarang in the early 1990s, where she lived, worked and socialized with those who had been born and raised in Semarang. Indeed, during this fieldwork she visited and was visited by her friends from this earlier time. I recorded one of these conversations and this represents my third data set.

Extract 6.4 is one example of Bu Zainudin's talk with a long-term friend, Tini. This recording was made one morning in early June 1996 during Tini's first visit to our house. This particular piece of talk occurred about twenty minutes into the recording, while we were having lunch. The participants included Bu Zainudin*, our son (Jery), one of Zainudin's Sundanese-speaking neighbors from Ciledug who was visiting and helping out (Tuti), and myself (Zain). In this particular interaction Bu Zainudin* is attempting to invoke a shared joke about Tuti's very curly hair, which prior to her visit was periodically retold while with Tuti. Font conventions are the same as used in previous extracts, with NJ in **bold**, Indonesian (I) in plain font and ***bold italics*** used for ambiguous forms.

Of particular note is that this interaction actually occurred before the first ward meeting discussed in Chapter 5. As such, it represents empirical evidence of an ability to understand and use *ngoko* Javanese. More importantly, however, is that together with information about her **trajectory of socialization** we can say that while Bu Zainudin* had the choice of using either *ngoko* Javanese or Indonesian in the ward meetings held between July and December 1996, she

Extract 6.4 Talking with a friend in *ngoko* Javanese

Zainudin*		
1	>tuti rambutnya . +***ya ya*** zain	Tuti's hair ***yeah***, ***yeah*** Zane ***yeah***,
2	***ya***+> . rambutnya sekarang	now her hair is a new [style]. Its ***not***
3	barua::n. ***nggak*** keriting **meneh**	curly **anymore** Zane.
4	Zain { (laughs)	
Zain		
5	{ bagus (0.6) ***kok*** pakai stail	It's great, ***gee*** you have a new [hair]
6	baru ***ya*** bagus (1.0) **apik** (0.4)	style ***yeah***, it's great, **great**.
Tuti		
7	**apik**'=	**Great**.
Zainudin*		
8	= tapi zain . **brintik** ***ya*** zain	But Zane, its [still] **curly** ***yeah*** Zane.
9	{ (laughs)	Laughs.
Tuti		
10	{ (laughs) =	Laughs.
Zainudin*		
11	= **taksih brintik** ***iya***	**It's still curly** ***yeah***, still **curly**.
12	(0.7) { masih **brintik**	
Tuti		
13	{ +**ketok brintik** ***ya***+ =	**It looks curly** ***yeah***?
Zainudin*		
14	= hah	What?
15	=	
Tuti		
16	= **ketok** kriting ***ya***' =	**It looks** curly ***yeah***?
Zainudin*		
17	= heeh . tapi	Yeah, but ***actually*** **this** [your hair] is
18	**kih** tipis ***kok*** sekarang' (0.4) kalau	not as noticeable now, before it was
19	dulu besar:: =	big [and curly].
Tuti		
20	= **lah iyo** =	That's right [don't remind me].
Zainudin*		
21	= (laughs) =	Laughs.
Tuti		
22	=	Laughs. It was [me] **who had** big
23	(laughs) . **sing** besar **rambuté** =	**hair**.
Zainudin*		
24	= (laughs) =	Laughs.
Tuti		
25	= dua bulan sekali ***#aku***	Once every two months ***I*** get a haircut.
26	potong# =	
Zainudin*		
27	= ***iya*** (1.1) **piro bayaré** .	***Yeah***. **How much is it**? **Three**
28	**telung ewu**' (0.7)	**thousand** [rupiah]?
Tuti		
29	**rong ewu**'	**Two thousand** [rupiah].

chose to stick primarily to using Indonesian. This of course raises the question of why. For her part, Bu Zainudin* noted that this was so because she did not know these people well and indeed was rather surprised by the frequent use of *ngoko* Javanese in these early ward meetings amongst those whom she thought did not share any special bond of intimacy. From my perspective we can say that Bu Zainudin's NJ usage in the December meeting not only represents a widening of the **social domain** of linguistic sign usage found in the earlier meetings, but it also represents evidence of learning. Thus, here learning can be conceptualized as learning to *appropriately use* NJ forms – as one set of signs – in ward settings, to signal her emerging ward member identity.

Indeed, in subsequent interactions with Bu Naryono and other Javanese within this ward Bu Zainudin* reported increasingly using NJ forms. My own observations of such interactions supported this self-report data. This increasingly habitual linguistic sign exchange can thus be re-categorized from one of **crossing** to that of **adequation**: that is, the habitual pursuit of linguistic sameness (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall, 2004a, 2004b). As we will see below, such **adequation** was facilitated through the regular sharing of social spaces as part of their daily social lives within this ward (see also Sections 3.1 and 3.3).

6.2 Linguistic sign exchanges, interactional histories and meta-pragmatics

With an eye to providing further evidence for the development of multiple **semiotic registers** within this ward, the following section brings together three different types of data. The first is a summary of linguistic sign exchanges between female members of this ward. While the basis of this evidence has been laid out in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, I need to note here that much of this data is based upon my observations of sign usage in interaction among particular pairs in several contexts. These observations did not differentiate between the types of linguistic patterns associated with different participant footings and conversational activities that I have fleshed out when looking at extracts of talk. Accordingly, this data needs to be viewed as *indicative* of habitual patterns of linguistic sign exchange. I then relate such patterns to members' interactional histories before providing summaries of interviews about language use and users that I conducted in the last few months of fieldwork in 1998.

I present here the patterns of linguistic sign exchanges in the form of half matrices. To interpret these patterns, simply read across from one name and down from the other to find whether they use forms stereotypically associated with Indonesian, *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) or *krámá* Javanese (KJ). The asymmetric choices are shown as either **KJ**/nj or nj/**KJ**, where the first is the **medium** used by the person at the top of the column and the second is the form returned by the person at the end of the row. (Note here that to enable easier differentiation in

the table, I have used slightly different font conventions for representing KJ and NJ than those found in the extracts in previous sections, namely no bold for NJ.) Table 6.2 focuses on exchanges between those who reported being Javanese, while Table 6.3 focuses on exchanges among non-Javanese and between these persons and Javanese members of this ward.

As can be seen in Table 6.2, the three main patterns of exchange are symmetrical exchanges of either NJ or KJ, and asymmetrical exchanges of NJ and KJ. The first pattern of symmetrical NJ exchange existed between Bu Naryono, Bu Nurholis, Bu Joko and Bu Yudianto, who were age mates and who were all long-term members of this ward, having lived there for at least four years. They were also by far the most regular attendees at ward meetings. In addition, they each had children of the same age going to the same schools, which also meant regular interactions among these neighbors in settings other than ward meetings. In contrast, those who exchanged KJ were also those who had paid employment, worked long hours and had domestic maids to do cleaning, shopping, and childrearing activities. This all worked against any sort of frequent contact among these neighbors.

It is also interesting to note that in contrast to earlier studies on Javanese (see e.g. Section 4.1), obvious disparities in education, occupation and income levels were not factors influencing linguistic sign usage, although Bu Naryono, the most affluent and educated of the four, did ask Bu Joko, Bu Yudianto and Bu Nurholis to do many tasks, which they carried out. That is to say, she appeared to have the right to tell others what to do. We can, however, see that in cases of asymmetric exchange it involves just one person, Bu Pujianto, who is the oldest woman in this ward. Such usage not only has continuities with asymmetrical patterns described in earlier studies but it also has continuities with the sign usage represented in school textbooks (Extract 2.1).

Table 6.3 is another half-matrix which summarizes linguistic sign usage amongst non-Javanese ward members as well as amongst non-Javanese and Javanese ward members. The parts of the half matrice which involve only Javanese (the right halves) have been "cut off" because that would simply repeat information already given in Table 6.2. Note that the use of a question mark in this table indicates that I have no data on a pair's linguistic sign choice (some of the reasons for this have been discussed in Chapter 3 – that is, non-attendance at ward meetings and infrequent interaction with neighbors – and I will further discuss this below). Where I have sometimes noted more than one linguistic sign, this means that I have data on both while also indicating a developing ability in locally emerging NJ. For example, I have put in both NJ and Indonesian (I) for exchanges between Bu Zainudin* and Bu Naryono.

There are three patterns of exchange that stand out, including NJ usage between non-Javanese themselves, NJ usage between non-Javanese and Javanese, and KJ exchanges involving Bu Taufik* (a non-Javanese). In treating

Table 6.2 *Habitual exchanges among the female Javanese of Ward 8*

Bu Dono													
KJ	Bu Indro												
KJ	**KJ**	Bu Naryono											
KJ	**KJ**	nj	Bu Yudianto										
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Bu Mardiono									
KJ	**KJ**	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	Bu Joko								
KJ	**KJ**	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj	Bu Nurholis							
KJ/nj	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**/nj	Bu Pujianto						
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Bu Suntoro					
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**	Bu Giono				
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	Bu Roni			
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Bu Yulianto		
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Bu Tri	
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**/nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Bu Matius

Table 6.3 *Exchanges among non-Javanese and other female ward members*

Bu Feizel*								
I	Bu Taufik*							
I	I	Bu Kris**						
I	I	I	Bu Zainudin*					
I	I	I	I	Bu Abdurrahman*				
I	I	I/nj	I	I	Bu Sumaryono*			
?	?	?	I	I	?	Bu Manurung*		
?	?	?	I	?	?	?	Bu Tobing*	
I	I	I	I	I	I	?	?	Bu Dono
I	I	I	I	I	I	?	?	Bu Indro
I	**KJ**	nj	I/nj	I	nj	?	I	Bu Naryono
I	?	I	I	I	I	?	?	Bu Mardiono
I	**KJ**	?	I/nj	I	nj	?	?	Bu Joko
I	I	I/nj	I/nj	I	nj	?	?	Bu Nurholis
I	I	I	I	I	I	?	?	Bu Pujianto
?	?	I	I	I	I	?	?	Bu Suntoro
I	**KJ**	I	I	I	I	?	?	Bu Giono
?	**KJ**	?	?	?	?	?	?	Bu Roni
I	**KJ**	I	I	I	I	?	?	Bu Yulianto
I	?	I	I	I	I	?	?	Bu Tri
I	**KJ**	I	I	I	I	?	?	Bu Matius

the first pattern (that is, NJ usage) between two non-Javanese (Bu Sumaryono* and Bu Kris**) we can say that – like Bu Naryono, Bu Nurholis, Bu Yudianto and Bu Joko – Bu Sumaryono* and Bu Kris** were both long-term members of this ward, having lived here for over four years. Moreover, despite having full-time paid work both of these non-Javanese routinely participated in ward activities and meetings. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Indonesian usage in interaction was not normally associated with insiders either and thus their tendency for habitual NJ exchange here might reflect this local ideology (that is, **LESR2**). Indeed, it would appear that although this pair's identities might be associated with more widely circulating **semiotic registers** relating to ethnicity (e.g. Diagram 2.2), nevertheless local ideology and their **trajectories of socialization** within this ward made such identities less important, instead requiring the use of signs associated with **LESR2**.

This argument is further supported if we look at Bu Sumaryono's **trajectories of socialization** with the Javanese with whom she habitually exchanges

Indonesian and NJ. In the case of NJ exchange, she has a long interactional history both in and out of ward meetings. For example, all four women had children of the same school age and often took each others' children to school. Bu Nurholis also lived right beside Bu Sumaryono* (who I should also note spent three years at an elementary school in Solo, Central Java, before moving back to Sumatra). They were also agemates (in their late thirties and early forties), which may have explained why considerable disparities in wealth, education and occupation of their husbands did not necessitate asymmetrical exchanges of NJ and KJ. In the case of Indonesian exchange we have already seen that Bu Sumaryono* was quite capable of using NJ if she wished, yet she didn't exchange NJ with all Javanese. These Javanese were also irregular attendees at ward meetings and functions and rarely interacted with Bu Sumaryono* outside of official ward activities.

Looking at Bu Taufik's **trajectory of socialization** (both in and out of this ward) provides insights into her apparently anomalous case of KJ usage. For example, she had moved from Tasikmalaya in West Java to Demak in the northern part of Central Java in the mid-sixties, where she met her husband (see Maps 1.1 and 1.2). As she noted in a number of interviews, she had learnt Javanese through initially living with her mother-in-law, who could not speak any Indonesian, and then through raising ten nieces and nephews (and one child of their niece and nephew) from her husband's side of the family. Like Bu Pujianto, she also expected that her age and social background required respect from younger, less-educated interlocutors (indeed, both she and her husband considered themselves members of an educated elite who were concentrated in this ward).

While such an ideology may translate to asymmetrical patterns of exchange of the type seen in interactions among Bu Pujianto and younger ward members, nevertheless Table 6.3 shows that such exchanges between Bu Taufik* and her neighbors were rare. Instead, we find symmetrical exchanges of KJ, despite her regular involvement in ward activities and her interaction with others a few times a week while shopping in the morning. In explaining this anomaly, Bu Taufik* contrasted this usage to patterns of linguistic sign exchanges in another ward where she lived from 1965 to 1990. She noted that within this other ward she and her husband were the only family with a university education and because of this members respected them through seeking their advice, doing so in KJ while expecting and receiving NJ from them. In comparison, Ward 8 had many university-educated members, which would thus require her to speak respectfully, using KJ. In addition, her belief that one shouldn't let neighbors know about your weaknesses (financial and otherwise), and that the key to not doing this was to avoid free-ranging emotional conversations – which she noted were commonly conducted in NJ – seems to explain her KJ usage.

Before concluding this section we also need to look at those non-Javanese who appear to use only Indonesian. For some, such as Bu Feizel* and Bu Tobing*, their work life, their marriage to a spouse who spoke their first language (see Table 4.6), and their tendency to socialize with networks of relatives and religious groups outside of this ward all tended to provide them with few opportunities to learn and few situations where they were required to speak Javanese. Yet these two were perceived and talked about quite differently by other members of this ward. We have, for example, seen in Chapter 5 how Bu Tobing* was perceived, with representations of her linguistic identity as "Indonesian-speaking" helping in processes of identifying her as socially deviant. Even so, looking at Bu Feizel's language use we can see that not using Javanese is not a sufficient reason for identification as socially deviant. Indeed, what sets Bu Tobing* apart from Bu Feizel* is that both Bu Feizel* and her husband regularly participated in ward activities. Moreover, they also regularly made financial contributions to ward projects over a long period of time (since the ward was constructed in fact). Thus, their engagement in positively valued social practices were enough to have Bu Feizel* included in **LESR2** despite not speaking Javanese, which, we have also seen, is one sign that makes up this **semiotic register**.

Bu Abdurrahman* represents a slightly different case insofar as she appeared to have some competence in Javanese, but chose not to use it in interactions with members. Like Bu Taufik*, however, this seemed partly related to her idea about the need to maintain social distance with others in this ward and especially anyone who was considered of lower status (defined by her and her much older spouse as including education, income and royal lineage). For example, she also noted that to use NJ in interaction would invite others to speak to her in NJ, which she felt was disrespectful.

Finally, by looking at larger patterns of sign usage in these ward meetings we also see evidence that supports the general notion of the existence of multiple emerging **semiotic registers** within this ward. Certainly, taking such a broader view helps explain a distinct difference in the amount of Javanese usage in the three meetings discussed thus far. For example, Table 6.4 summarizes a count of Javanese tokens used in the first forty-five minutes of these three meetings. Of course, this count needs to be seen as indicative only, because some of the conversations weren't able to be transcribed, and there is also the tricky question of classification that I discussed in Section 4.1.

What stands out in Table 6.4 is that although there are more Javanese participants in the August meeting than in the other two meetings, nevertheless there is less talk and a very noticeable lack of Javanese usage, especially compared with the December meeting. While participants needed to concentrate on deciding what to prepare for the imminent Independence Day celebrations, participant constellations were also different in the August meeting when compared with

Table 6.4 *Word counts in female ward meetings in Ward 8*

Ward meeting Date	Participants (heads of household only)			Indonesian tokens	Javanese tokens	Total tokens	% Javanese tokens
	Javanese	*Non-Javanese*	*Total*				
Jul 96	8	5	13	9,086	1,248	10,344	12
Aug 96	9	5	14	7,458	227	7,685	3
Dec 96	8	5	13	6,466	1,340	7,806	17

the July and December meetings. In terms of seating arrangements, for example, in the August meeting the non-Javanese sat between the Javanese members of the ward. In comparison, in the other meetings Javanese participants sat either beside each other or opposite each other. In effect, the seating patterns in the July and December meetings also reflected the **trajectories of socialization** discussed so far.

6.3 Conclusions

In this chapter I have explored whether and to what extent a newcomer to this ward appropriated and recontextualized signs from **LESR2** (e.g. Diagram 5.3), and whether and to what extent others ratified such sign usage. In general we saw that Bu Zainudin* had learned to use certain signs, especially those stereotypically associated with *ngoko* Javanese (NJ). We also saw that such sign usage seemed to be ratified by other participants. While the act of appropriation helped in the reproduction of recognized signs and **LESR2**, the situated recontextualization of such signs may have also changed this **SR**. For example, over time Bu Zainudin* became one of the persons associated with this **SR**.

In assessing her learning, I have placed Bu Zainudin's conversational activity and medium choices within broader patterns of interactional linguistic sign exchange within this ward (Section 6.2). From this perspective we can see that Bu Zainudin* moved from being a **crosser** earlier in her stay in this ward to someone who increasingly engaged in **adequation**. In this sense, she mirrored the language alternation practices of other non-Javanese in this ward. However, Bu Zainudin* and other non-Javanese didn't engage in **adequation** with every member of the ward, rather, only those with whom they frequently interacted due to sharing common interests. While this is hardly surprising, there are a number of important observations that can be made.

First of all, such language alternation practices increasingly make irrelevant the type of language–ethnicity associations noted in Chapter 2. Instead, we see the type of **adequation** practices that can be found in more recent mass-mediated representations of interactions amongst newcomers (e.g.

Extract 2.4). Secondly, in this setting **adequation** seems to be emerging as normative practices amongst a particular constellation of participants in this transient setting. When considered together with other co-occurring signs – such as attendance at meetings, paying of dues and so on – we are provided with insights into how systems of trust or expectation emerge in a setting characterized by diversity and transience. Thirdly, and related to the first point, the finding that many non-Javanese who could engage in **adequation** chose only to do so with certain members of the ward seems to support developmental notions of language alternation and use whereby some types of language alternation become the medium between certain participant constellations (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Oesch-Serra, 1998).

In this chapter I have also provided an example of how an ethnographic approach to language alternation (e.g. Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1994; Kulick, 1992; Rampton, 1995a; Errington, 1998b; Stroud, 1998) can be fruitfully combined with identity-based and ethnomethodological approaches to language alternation. For example, while Chapter 5 explored how widely circulating signs where appropriated and recontextualized in a temporally and spatially bounded series of **semiotic encounters** (i.e. a speech situation in a Hymesian sense), in this chapter we have used ethnography to follow a chain of **semiotic encounters**, providing us with insights into how the meaning of medium alternation is both changed and reified across time and space among particular participant constellations. In doing so, I have grounded this with other ethnographically recoverable information about members of this ward and their **trajectories of socialization**. When considered together, I hope that this may offer a useful way of approaching and accounting for codeswitching.

Finally, in Chapter 5 I also asked the question as to what extent local-level events shaped narrative activity. In this chapter some of the narrative activity found in the last meeting and represented in Extracts 6.1 to 6.3 might be related to a number of events. For example, rain during the wet season increased the negative impact on the ward's main road, which serviced the whole *RW* (neighborhood). In turn, this perhaps led to heightened sensitivities about any type of activity that caused deterioration in this vital ward infrastructure which, as pointed out in Chapter 3, had to be paid for by ward members. Drawing inspiration from notions about "communicative economy" coined by Hymes (1974) and developed in work in language socialization (e.g. Ochs, 1988), in the following chapters I will focus on how local circumstances figure in **processes of social identification** and local **semiotic register** formation in a male meeting in Ward 8.

7 Emerging Identities in a Monthly Ward 8 Male Meeting

7.0 Introduction

In Section 2.5. I noted that while representing little more than 2 percent of Indonesia's population, those of Chinese ancestry have been stereotyped as "deviant non-indigenous foreign others" and positioned as scapegoats in times of political and economic turmoil. During such times of turmoil they have been socially identified by masses – despite being largely physically undifferentiable from other Indonesians – and subject to acts of violence against property and person. Drawing on written inter-group communications, group manifestos, speeches, newspapers and interviews, historians have noted that this mass violence often evolved from a combination of local problematic interactions, widely held prejudices, and the actions of groups who benefited from instability (e.g. Coppel, 1983; Purdey, 2006). While eminently useful, such accounts provide narratives that give an appearance of a hypodermic model where representations of signs are received as sent. We know very little about whether, to what extent, and how such signs are "recontextualized" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) in actual face-to-face interaction.

The next two chapters start to fill this gap by looking at face-to-face interactions that occurred in one urban middle-income space in a period preceded by two occurrences of mass anti-Chinese violence and followed shortly thereafter by the economic meltdown of 1997–1998 (e.g. Purdey, 2006). This meltdown was accompanied by monthly outbreaks of such violence culminating in the well-known lethal mass violence that occurred in Jakarta in mid-May 1998. In particular, the next two chapters focus on two male ward meetings that were held in Semarang in December 1996 and January 1997. I explore how signs from local and more perduring **semiotic registers** (outlined in Chapter 2) are recontextualized in these meetings to socially identify a non-present ward member as deviant and Chinese.

This approach allows me to explore wider issues about identity construction in Ward 8, while seeing how these relate to more perduring **semiotic registers** of the type discussed in Chapter 2. In this chapter I focus on the ward meeting held in December 1996. In doing so, I draw upon the theoretical and methodological

approaches developed in the last few chapters. I argue that the processes of **enregisterment** and **social identification** in this meeting were made possible by the co-occurrence of a number of perduring **semiotic registers** as well as local and national events. I start by looking at the circumstances surrounding this meeting (Section 7.1), then go on to look at how these events figure in the **social identification** of one non-present member, Pak Kris**, as deviant, and how this relates to broader processes of **social identification** within this ward meeting (Section 7.2). I finish by placing sign usage in the extracts presented into broader patterns of sign usage and interaction within this ward (Section 7.3).

7.1 Widely and locally circulating signs of personhood

In this brief section I want to focus on the intersection of signs of personhood that were part of a number of **semiotic registers** associated with Chineseness and religious affiliation (see Section 2.5) and ward-level concerns that were circulating prior to the December 1996 and January 1997 meetings. In Sections 7.2 and 8.1 I will then relate these signs to the actual talk that occurred in these meetings.

The first widely circulating **semiotic register** relates to the occurrence of mass violence in Java in July, October and December of 1996 that was directed towards shops, shopping malls, churches, Buddhist shrines, houses and property which showed signs of Chineseness (Purdey, 2006). As noted in Section 2.5, accounts of these events in the mass-media and by community leaders primarily blamed the victim through linking this violence with social inequality, opulent lifestyles, perceived Christianization in Islamic areas, and corrupt relations between those of Chinese ancestry and members of the public service and security forces (Purdey, 2006).

While the January male ward meeting was held during the Islamic fasting month of Ramadan, by the time of the December meeting messages of giving to the poor and less fortunate were common in television serials and soap operas, newspapers, and sermons given at the mosque on Friday. The focus on giving to the poor and less fortunate increased during Ramadan sermons, which were delivered at *Tariweh* prayer sessions held each evening immediately after the *Isya* prayer and during Friday's mid-day sermon. These sermons were always given over a loudspeaker, enabling those living in most of the wards within this neighborhood to hear them.

During this time the tranquility of what was viewed by many ward members as a safe and desirable place to live and be was threatened through a number of events. On the one hand, Mbak Yayan, one of the newer occupants of the ward was thought to be a mistress of a wealthy Chinese business person. This and her association with another young woman who lived in this ward and who

was thought to be a prostitute came into full public view during this period. In particular, one of the married male members of the ward, Pak Bagus, had apparently had relations with Mbak Yayan and her friend. After an altercation between Pak Bagus and these two women, Mbak Yayan, Pak Bagus and his family moved out of this ward. Pak Roi, a business person, leased the house that had previously been occupied by Mbak Yayan and used it as distribution centre for his factory's products. This business involved large trucks and, later, small fast-moving vehicles regularly coming into the ward. This was problematic for ward members – including my family – who had many young children who used the road as a play space, as was the case in most wards in this area. On the other hand, there had been a number of robberies and unwanted intrusions into ward members' houses during this period. There was also an upcoming presidential election of which residents feared marauding supporters. Indeed, in the December meeting much discussion was devoted to all of these worries, but especially to potential political unrest due to the upcoming elections, youth crime and drug usage, and how to ensure that the security guard could be relied upon to do his job.

Just as importantly, during the month of Ramadan the cost of living also increases, contributing to pressure on family budgets. Moreover, at the end of the fasting month this ward held a celebration, which also required monetary contributions from each family. For the families of Ward 8 such financial pressures were added to by the need to pay for the recent construction of a guard post and for a full-time security guard to attend this post in the evenings. In addition, there were also a number of other infrastructure improvements that became necessary during this time. These included the surfacing of the unsealed road at the northern end of the ward, which was in desperate need of repair due to the damage caused by an increasingly large amount of traffic and the ongoing heavy rains during the wet season. These rains also caused regular minor flooding in this and adjoining wards because the drainage was regularly blocked with silt and garbage. Because of this and the increasing occurrence of serious water-borne mosquito diseases, such as dengue fever, the drains also needed to be cleaned. Again, as noted in Section 3.3, this required either ward members' labor or further financial contributions from them to pay others to do the work.

All of these local circumstances relating to the financial needs of the ward also came at a time when only about half the twenty-three families in this ward attended ward meetings and made financial contributions towards all of these costs. Indeed, as we will hear from a number of the ward members in the following sections, there was no way that ward finances could even cover one infrastructure project. In the following sections I take a closer look at how these local circumstances and the signs from the **semiotic registers** noted in Sections 2.2 to 2.5 figure in processes of social identification,

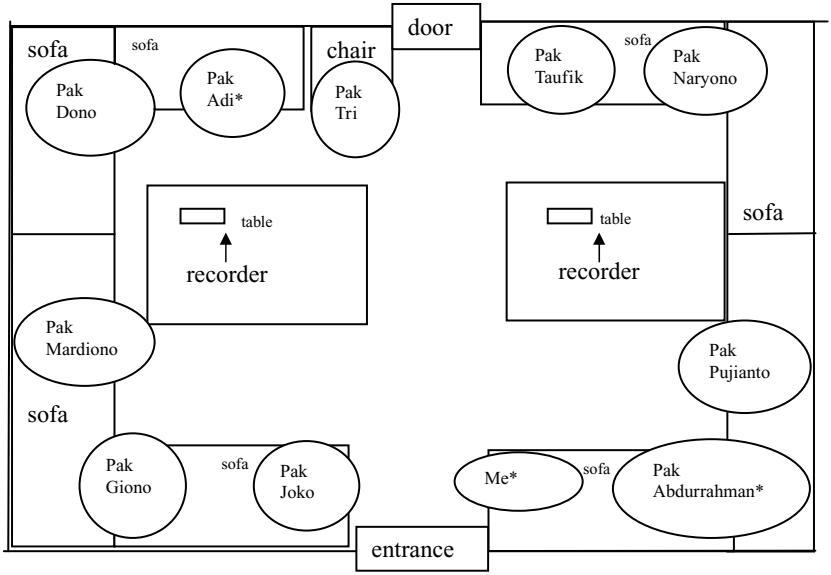

Diagram 7.1 The ward meeting on December 28 1996

especially the positioning of one non-present member, Pak Kris**, as deviant.

7.2 Narratives, medium choice and social identification

In this section I focus on talk during a routine male ward meeting that occurred in late December 1996. As with the women's meetings discussed in the previous two chapters, part of the function of male ward meetings was to help disseminate state development policy and for ward members' to plan for and collect finances to carry out such directives as well as their own initiatives. In addition to these pragmatic issues, these meetings were also framed as an opportunity to *sambung rasa* "to share experiences and feelings." Indeed, this idea was reified on the written invitations – which were normally circulated one day prior to the meeting – and through the announcement of agenda items to be discussed during the meeting. While these meetings were public forums, as we have seen in the last two chapters much of the conversation that goes on in these meetings is often private and only some of it becomes public.

The December meeting was held in the front room of Pak Tri's house at around 7.40 p.m. (see Diagram 7.1). (*Pak* can be literally translated as "Mr.," but in this ward context it is also used as a way of respecting the addressee and was almost always affixed to a person's name where participants were age

mates. To follow the practice already established in the previous chapters, I will use Pak plus name to refer to participants. As with the last two chapters, all names are pseudonyms.) Although attendance by all ward members was ideal, this never occurred in this ward, with attendance fluctuating between 9–13 male heads of household. As we will see below, non-attendance was quite a common topic at this and the next meeting.

During the first ten minutes of this two-hour meeting, interaction among participants relates generally to the collecting of monthly dues and talking about the new guard post. Pak Kris** was not present but was talked about by Pak Joko as the major creditor to the ward. This was so because most of the material for the guard post was purchased from the hardware store owned and operated by Pak Kris**. During this time interaction among those who reported to be Javanese contained Javanese tokens stereotypically associated with *krámá* Javanese (KJ), while inter-ethnic talk was in Indonesian.

The meeting was then officially started by the head of the ward, Pak Naryono. He then listed agenda items before briefly postponing discussion to note that a new resident, Pak Roi, wanted permission for large trucks to regularly pick up and deliver merchandise. (Kris, Roi and Matius are names that are often read as signs signifying Christianity and, by association, potential Chineseness.) Pak Naryono asked for input about this matter because of the damage that heavy trucks would do to the ward road. Reiterating immediately preceding "private" talk (by Pak Tri, Pak Dono and Pak Joko), Pak Pujianto "publicly" suggested that they should only allow Pak Roi to use small domestic-sized vehicles to transport merchandise because of the damage large trucks may cause and the subsequent financial burden on the ward. The transcription conventions are the same as those used previously.

Extract 7.1 Identifying traders

Pak Joko		
1	(1.7) mungki::n . { sebetulnya	Maybe, actually . . .
Pak Tri		
2	{ ***ya*** . saya juga	***Yes*** I also
3	usul pak? . pak rt . jadi (0.5) ini	have a suggestion Pak Ward.
4	kan . lingkunga::n (1.5) lingkungan	Because this area, the area
5	termasuk jala::n (1.0) yang ada ini	including this road, will if the
6	nanti . adalah kalau sudah	responsibility has already been
7	dilimpahkan +kota madya?+ .	handed over from the national
8	orang dari perumnas >akan	housing commission to the city
9	tanggung jawab> (0.5) tanggung	level, the responsibility will be
10	jawab kita . >artinya tanggung	ours. That is to say, the Ward and
11	jawab warga rt dan rw> . nah kita	Neighborhood. Now we have to be
12	juga harus tegas gitu' . untuk .	firm, in order to manage whether

Extract 7.1 (*cont.*)

13	mengatur kalau? +truk+ itu	trucks are allowed to enter, large
14	dibiarkan masuk . +besar+ gitu	[ones] like that. I think it needs to
15	(1.1) itu saya pikir perlu diatur .	be managed with certain methods.
16	>dengan cara cara tertentu> .	If that means like Pak Pujianto's
17	artinya apakah . seperti pendapat	opinion, to be .
18	pak pujianto . diapa? (0.5)	
Pak Pujianto		
19	dilansir =	Transferred [from a large truck to a small vehicle]
Pak Tri		
20	= +dilansir+ . atau	Transfer [the load] or whatever, but
21	#bagaimana# (1.2) tapi yang jelas:	what is clear is that the foundation
22	.. +beban+ berat . ini >apa?> .	for the drains is not strong enough
23	pondasi daripada selokan enggak	to bear the vibrations and it will
24	kuat menampung' (0.5) getaran itu .	definitely ruin [the drain]. So if it is
25	dan mesti rusak (0.5) +>jadi	like me, I erected a steel pole in the
26	memang> seperti saya masang di	middle of the ward's main road.
27	portal sini . memang se- pertama	Indeed, in the beginning there were
28	ada gejolak+ . nah seperti pak heru	problems like [the time when] Pak
29	yang jua::l (1.1) minyak . >pernah	Heru who sells oils phoned me [and
30	telpon saya> . +pak tri+ itu **mbok**	said] Pak Tri **what if** [you] move
31	dicabut nggak cabut **nek** +pecah+ .	it? **Because** [what happens] **if** it is
32	>**anuné kowé sing** nanggung>	broken [Then I said] **ah you will**
33	(0.5) ***ya* ora ngono** lah .	**have to** fix it. [He said] it's **not like**
34	MONGGO **#kuwi syaraté#** . ah	**that** actually. [I said] PLEASE
35	maka . ternyata . >ini sudah	[**think**] **about my conditions**. But
36	mengurangi hal hal yang beban	what happened was that the pole
37	berat . memang dari +sana+> (0.7)	stopped heavy [trucks] using this
38	mulai:: . tempatnya pak rt itu (0.7)	street. Indeed, from the head of the
39	seperti pak dagang itu' . #sapa itu .	ward's house (referred to as Pak
40	namanya# .	Ward) and like Pak Trader, what is
		his name?
Pak Joko		
41	pak kris =	Pak Kris.
Pak Pujianto		
42	= kris =	Kris.
Pak Tri		
43	= kris . >udah lama	It has already been some time and
44	nggak apa apa> =	Kris has no problems [with it].
Pak Pujianto		
45	= ***iya*** =	***Yes.***

This talk and the talk that follows is interesting because of the similarities and differences between it and the type of conversational activity found in female

meetings in this ward. For example, at turn-transition points we generally see that pauses are either short or just perceivable (that is, latches which are indicated by "="). In terms of narrative practices we can see one of the defining elements of narrative, namely the complicating event or problem (the request to bring heavy trucks into the ward) and the evaluation (that it will damage the road), is officially raised by the ward head with other members also repeating such evaluations, while also offering solutions. Of note is that this narrative is also occasioned by local concerns.

We also see that narratives can be constructed by just one member, as in the case of Pak Tri (lines 25–38), who tells a short story to support other members' resolutions. For example, the complicating event on lines 28–34 (a neighbor's complaint about a steel pole being erected in the middle of the road), and the evaluation on lines 34–37 (that it stopped heavy vehicles entering the northern part of the ward's road), were all done by just one participant. This contrasts with the co-constructed narratives found in the women's meetings. It also seems that expectations about conduct within the ward, in this case the use of trucks, are formalized through long oratory performances as against comparatively brief co-produced rules found in women's meetings. We need to remember, however, that all of these narratives were situation-specific, whereby women and men may use these same strategies and structures in different settings. That is to say, it is too early to read gender differences into these differences in narrative activity and structure.

There were also many similarities. For example, during Pak Naryono's, Pak Pujianto's and Pak Tri's talk there is also little talk in the background from other participants. This suggests that what is being talked about is for consumption by all participants: that is, it is on the public record (similar to Bu Naryono's talk in Extract 5.5). We can also see some evidence that repetition might have some role in either helping the talk cohere and/or in the building of consensus among participants. For example, in lines 23–24 Pak Tri seems to be repeating, while adding to, Pak Naryono's earlier observation that heavy trucks damage the road.

In addition, medium choice and its role in the structuring of narratives is similar for those who self-report as being Javanese. For example, as with narratives found in the women's ward meeting, narratives about personal experience are in Javanese (lines 30–34). Delineation between the problematic encounter (lines 30–34) and its evaluation (lines 34–37) is expressed through changes in linguistic sign choice. The representation of the antagonist's speech – in this case Pak Heru – is also achieved through medium alternation, as was the case in Extract 5.6. We can tentatively categorize this practice as **codeswitching**. This is so because alternation between Indonesian and Javanese (line 30) co-occurs with a change in conversational activity (that is, talking about the material world, the road, to presenting his and Pak Heru's interactional experience) and within

intonational units, as was the case in the women's representation practices. (Although, as we also saw, women such as Bu Naryono and Bu Sumaryono* represented outsiders' speech using Indonesian rather than Javanese, as is the case here.)

The use of the term *monggo* "to invite someone/to give permission to someone" (line 34) is also interesting. This term is stereotypically an other-elevating term used in face-to-face talk and associated with *krámá inggil* Javanese (𝔹𝕆𝕃𝔻 𝕆𝕌𝕋𝕃𝕀ℕ𝔼𝔻 ℂ𝔸ℙ𝕊). Here, however, it appears to help Pak Tri change his footing from representing Pak Heru's speech (line 33) to representing his own. It is also interesting because this other-oriented nature of *krámá inggil* Javanese appears to facilitate a footing change with just one token whereas the delineation between Pak Heru's and his own represented speech in lines 30–32 appears to be achieved through second person pronoun usage (*kowé*) coupled with a change in the tempo of the talk (e.g. the talk in line 32 is much faster than that preceding or following it). In this sense, the alternation is functional and can be treated as **codeswitching**.

Just as importantly, it also appears that joint talk about road usage helps begin a process of social identification. Consider the case of non-present Pak Kris**, who is positioned as a "trader" through the joint work of Pak Tri, Pak Joko and Pak Pujianto in lines 39–44. Although "trader" as a category of personhood could equally be read as involving Indonesians who are not of Chinese ancestry, with recourse to perduring ideologies about personhood (e.g. Sections 2.5 and 7.1) some might also read this category of "trader" as "of Chinese ancestry." Indeed, some of those present may already have known about Kris's Chinese ancestry, especially the ward head and secretary due to their access to Kris's personal information, information which each resident has to provide to ward administrators. While this aspect of Pak Kris's identity is left ambiguous here, such a reading becomes increasingly possible as the talk continues and as the category of "trader" continues to be used in talk during the rest of the meeting. Although not a conversational narrative, in the talk in the following transcript we see Pak Tri's talk helping to add further signs of personhood to the category of persons referred to earlier as traders. This talk followed immediately after the talk in Extract 7.1.

Extract 7.2 Linking traders with deviance

Pak Tri		
46	= >karena	Because
47	saya lihat treknya> . si:: (1.2)	I see the truck owned by
Pak Taufik		
48	nardi =	Nardi.
Pak Pujianto?		
49	= nardi =	Nardi.

Extract 7.2 (*cont.*)

Pak Tri		
50	= pak +nardi+ (laughs)	Mr. Nardi comes in via that way
51	masuk lewat sana . dengan tenaga	with big trucks and here there are
52	besar' . #dan itu ngga ada# (1.2)	no [portals]. So I think its allowable
53	saya pikir . >boleh masuk> asal	as long as it is a small vehicle with
54	engkel >tapi kan> dibuat engkel	standard (??? ???) we have to
55	#dengan standar (??? ???)# (0.5)	manage it. [Because] sometimes if
56	>kita yang ngatur . kadang kalau	[the road] is damaged it's our
57	rusak itu> . nanti >wewenangnya	responsibility to manage. If it is the
58	kita lagi yang ngatur . kalau di	government housing department,
59	perumnas . **yo wis sing *bangun**	[then] yeah **it's those who *built the**
60	***perumnas*>** . ***lah*** sekarang . sudah	***estate*** [who are responsible]. ***But***
61	(0.7) ngembalikan . kita . +warga+	now [the responsibility] has been
62	. ***ya***::' . #kita# yang nanti keluar	given back to residents, ***yes*** us, who
63	dana untuk #membangun itu'#	pay money to construct the [road].
64	(1.8) +makanya+ (0.9) nanti pak .	So later we have to be firm.
65	>secara tegas saja . saya di	I'm right behind the head of the
66	belakang pak RT lah saya nanti	ward. Now I will latter (???).
67	(???) saya sudah MATUR pak	I've already ASKED the sub-
68	lurah itu'> . dan pak lurah nyetujui	district head, the sub-district head
69	dia:: . >hanya karena kan kadang	agreed but he only, right,
70	kadang> . pengaturan itu kan . >**yo**	sometimes because rules "**yeah [I]**
71	**ra ngerti lah** . **nek wong** dagang	**don't understood**," **if it is a trader**
72	itu kan ***nganu*** ngga ngerti yang	right? ***Um*** [they] don't understand
73	jelas . pengaturan itu >mereka	clearly these sorts of rules right, the
74	ngga bisa tegas> . karena: . kurang	sub-district finds it hard to be firm.
75	jujur bisa masu::k =	Because sometimes they are not
		entirely honest and enter.
Pak Dono?		
76	= ***iya*** =	***Yes.***
Pak Tri		
77	= karena::	Because they say [the truck] is for
78	. untuk katanya untuk kegiatan	other things . So because it is the
79	yang lain . karena pak RT **sing**	head of the ward **who** makes the
80	ngatur itu (0.5) kalau dibuatkan	rules if we erect a steel pole there or
81	portal sana (1.2) atau satu engkel	[allow] one axle [vehicles], a big
82	#gitu# . yang besar (1.7) #gitu pak	one [steel pole]. Everyone that is
83	(???)# =	[my opinion].

The above talk is interesting for the similarities and differences between medium alternation here and in Extract 7.1. For example, although the first instance of alternation from Indonesian to *ngoko* Javanese in lines 59–60 occurs within an intonational unit, this does not relate to reporting Pak Tri's own or others' talk in previous interactions. Instead, the alternation appears to be a way of delineating topic "*kalau di perumnas*" and comment "*yo wis*

sing bangun perumnas." In this sense it is functional and can be classified as **codeswitching**.

The use of the term *matur* "to ask someone" (line 67), which is stereotypically an other-elevating term associated with *krámá inggil* Javanese (𝔹𝕆𝕃𝔻 𝕆𝕌𝕋𝕃𝕀ℕ𝔼𝔻 ℂ𝔸ℙ𝕊), is also interesting because it poses some classificatory difficulties. For example, we might classify it as either **sign alternation as the medium** or **codeswitching**. The first classification is possible insofar as Pak Tri and others present regularly use this and other *krámá inggil* forms in otherwise Indonesian utterances without attracting any comment from others and without resulting in **medium repair** (e.g. Extract 4.4 and its analysis). However, because someone like a head of a sub-district requires respect and because Indonesian has no term to do this, then such usage might also be seen as functional, that is, **codeswitching**.

Later alternation between Indonesian and *ngoko* Javanese also appears to be functional and thus **codeswitching**. This is so because it seems to change the conversational activity from talking about official things, such as regulations (lines 50–59 and 68–70), to modeling how traders might think or act (e.g. Errington, 1998b) in relation to such regulations "*yo ra ngerti lah*" (lines 70–71). The use of the NJ token *sing* "who" on line 79 is a fairly clear case of **sign alternation as the medium** insofar as it occurs within an intonational unit and mirrors other Javanese males' language use patterns within this meeting (e.g. Extract 7.4). We also see a continuation of the type of pause pattern, namely short inter-turn pauses and latches, found in Extract 7.1.

If we turn to the content of the talk, we can see that Pak Tri builds upon Pak Naryono's earlier identification of Pak Roi** (also as a trader). This is done by noting a need to be quite blunt in their dealings with such persons because traders tend not to understand rules and can be dishonest (lines 70–75). Pak Dono appears to agree with this characterization at line 76 and in an extended response shortly after the talk represented in Extract 7.2. Their talk thus begins to link a deviant aspect with the category of "traders" established thus far, though neither Pak Roi** or Pak Kris** are explicitly talked about in these terms. Such deviance is built upon further as the talk continues in Extract 7.3. This talk occurs shortly after Pak Pujianto, the eldest person in this ward, reiterates his earlier argument and after Pak Dono clarifies how the system of tolls works within Semarang. In particular, he notes that owners of large trucks normally seek permission at the city level and only pay 50,000 rupiah for regular access permission. As he goes on to note, the cost of such permission to the ward could be as much as 50,000 rupiah per family per year because of the damage such trucks would inflict on their road.

In looking at the above talk we can see how Pak Tri and Pak Dono build upon the previous identity category of "deviant trader" by more directly associating it with a named person. In this case, Pak Roi** is now imagined to be someone

Extract 7.3 Linking traders with outside sponsors

Pak Tri		
1	. udah kalau . dia bawa orang siapa?	OK, if later he brings someone,
2	. nanti pak. informasi dijual aja .	Everyone, I will sell that information.
3	(??? ???) berani saya { (laughs)	(??? ???) I'm not afraid.
Pak Dono		
4	{ saya jadi	I am prepared to support the head of
5	bersedia di belakang pak rt =	the ward.
Pak Tri		
6	= ah ***ya***	Ah ***yes***,
7	. begitulah kita =	we have to be like that.
Pak Dono		
8	= aha . kita saling	Yes , we have to look out for each
9	waspada {(??? rt)	other.

who might oppose the ward's decision and bring along some support. As they note, such a situation would need to be counteracted either by selling information about who his support is (lines 2–3) and supporting the head of the ward as part of a more general practice of mutually supporting one another (lines 4–9). In expressing these views, Pak Roi's identity increasingly fits with perduring signs, especially the *cukong* relationship where Indonesian-Chinese business people pay protection money to government officials, such as military and police personnel.

As the talk progresses, we find that Pak Tri, Pak Dono and Pak Adi* note that Pak Roi's trucks have actually already begun to arrive late at night, despite no official permission being given. Pak Tri also notes that he actually confronted the driver and said that they were not allowed to bring such large trucks into this area because it was a residential area. Interdiscursive relationships with earlier talk are thus established, especially that of the trader who does not follow rules. After noting that the ward has already been quite lenient in their dealings with traders, Pak Tri jovially initiates a narrative exemplifying this leniency.

Extract 7.4 Pak Kris** creating problems for neighbors

Pak Tri		
1	>dulu pak kris nggak betul loh pak	Everyone, a while ago Pak Kris's
2	itu> . itu' +>nggak betul itu>+ .	[behavior] wasn't appropriate. It
3	***iya***? itu . jalan nutup .	wasn't appropriate. ***Yeah***, the road was closed.
Pak Giono		
4	pojok **sisan** =	**And** right at the end [at the entrance to the ward].
Pak Tri		
5	= untuk **gawé** usaha	Used **to do** business, **and** it was
6	{ pojok **sisan**	right at the end [that is, the ward entrance].

Extract 7.4 (*cont.*)

Pak Giono		
7	{ pojok **sisan** (0.8) { tapi >tempat .	**And** it was right at the [ward]
8	tempat>	entrance. But the place, the place.
Pak Tri		
9	{ tapi sumber	But it was a source of income right?
10	dana jadi (laughs) .	(laughs)
Pak Giono		
11	tempat belokan (laughs) (2.2)	Right at the corner (laughs).

The above narrative is rather different than the two types of narratives we have looked at thus far. This is so because we have the problematic event being constructed by someone other than the ward head. We also see that while Pak Tri initiates the narrative through recounting a problematic event in lines 1–3 (Pak Kris** closing the road), Pak Giono evaluates this and/or adds to the problematic event ("and it was at the entrance to the ward"). Pak Giono's turn in line 4 also suggests that these two participants share knowledge of the reported event. This together with the repetition of *pojok sisan* and variations (*tempat belokan* on line 11) might also be read as signs of rapport between these two participants. Similarly, the use of *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) tokens (lines 4–7) might help solidify such a reading. However, this alternation of NJ and Indonesian occurs in talk about events involving others, a practice that also occurs in Extract 7.5 below, thus inviting a different reading.

Just as importantly, in the above talk we can see that Pak Kris** is more directly positioned as deviant through a narrative of his past inappropriate trading activities, which inconvenienced ward members. In doing so, the link between the category of "trader" and social deviance further solidifies, while this category also starts to become linked with another named person, namely Pak Kris**. In tandem with this process, the two tellers of this narrative implicitly suggest that they know what is appropriate social activity within this ward. In doing so, they position themselves as arbiters of what is moral and good in this ward. Indeed, we can suggest that this process started at Extract 7.1. In addition, arguably across these speech events this category of personhood (that is, "those ward members who know how to behave appropriately") simultaneously becomes indexed with patterns of medium choice, inter-turn pauses and patterns of repetition, which are ratified by participants as appropriate ways of interacting.

There also appear to be interdiscursive links with signs from perduring **semiotic registers** relating to Chineseness, especially those associated with selfishness and making money. At this stage, however, we cannot be sure that such signs are being unambiguously invoked in this talk. Indeed, we need to follow the talk to see whether, to what extent, and how such associations

solidify. About thirty minutes later – after talk about the ward guard who rarely does his job, recent break-ins, drunken youth, and general ward insecurity – the topic turns to the status of payments toward the guard post. At this stage Pak Kris** is again mentioned as the person from whom the ward has bought all the material for the guard post, resulting in a debt of 700,000 rupiah. We hear that there are many absentee landlords who have yet to pay their obligatory 40,000 rupiah toward the guard post. Through this interaction the categories of "payer" and "non-payer" of ward dues are constructed.

After Pak Joko recounts the sorry state of ward finances in regard to paying for the new guard post, this category of personhood soon becomes linked with donors and non-donors, as Pak Tri says he will donate an extra 100,000. He adds to this by suggesting that Pak Kris** should donate more. Others jokingly suggest that if anyone else would like to donate further, then they shouldn't hesitate. Shortly thereafter, Pak Abdurrahman* uses Indonesian to ask Pak Pujianto how much Pak Kris** has donated. Pak Pujianto then raises his voice when he asks Pak Joko the same question in Indonesian. Some confusion follows as Pak Taufik, Pak Dono and Pak Tri try and clarify with Pak Joko whether Pak Kris** has donated 100,000 or 10,000. Extract 7.5 follows directly after these discussions.

Extract 7.5 Pak Kris** hasn't donated yet

Pak Giono		
1	>berarti **nyumbangé jeh**	So that means **he has only donated**
2	#sepuluh#> (0.6)	ten [thousand rupiah].
Pak Dono		
3	**nyumbangé** sepuluh ***tok*** .	**He has *only*** donated ten.
Pak Joko		
4	sepuluh ***tok*** .	***Just*** ten.
Pak Taufik		
5	+***lah* ujané**+ (0.9) **ning kono piro** .	***Now*** f**or example**, **over there how**
6	**kono piro** . **kono piro** (0.9)	**much**, **over there how much**, **over there how much**?
Pak Joko		
7	**MBOTEN** (1.0) **omahé MRIKU** .	**NO**. **The house OVER THERE**
8	**patang *pulu:h***' =	**forty** [thousand rupiah].
Pak Taufik		
9	= ***patang* puluh** =	**Forty**.
Pak Joko		
10	=	**The** [other] **house OVER THERE**
11	**omah MRIKO patang *puluh***? =	**forty**.
Pak Taufik		
12	=	
13	**INGGIH** =	**YES**.

Extract 7.5 (*cont.*)

Pak Joko		
14	= **sewané *sepuluh*** =	**The rented house, *ten***.
Pak Taufik		
15	=	
16	**INGGIH** =	**RIGHT**.
Pak Joko		
17	= kan . >**sanga *puluh***>	That is **ninety** [thousand rupiah]
18	(0.7) >***tapi* bayaré** { **satus**>	right. ***But* he paid one hundred** [thousand rupiah].
Pak Taufik		
19	{ **satus** =	**One hundred**.
Pak Tri		
20	= **satus** .	**One hundred**,
21	>berarti **mung *sepuluh tok***	**that means just *ten only***,
22	**ngono'**> =	**right**?
Pak Joko		
23	= berarti **mung *sepuluh***	That means **just *ten***
24	**#tok#** =	**only**.
Pak Taufik		
25	= ***ya* NIKU DERENG**	***Yes* THAT** [means] **HE HASN'T**
26	+nyumbang+ **NIKU** =	**YET** donated.
Multiple participants		
27	= { Laughing	Laughing.
Pak Joko		
28	{ **ora nek** .	**No**, **if there wasn't the** ten that was
29	+>**ra *sepuluh* gé** nyumbang **ora**	donated, **that would be called not**
30	**jenengé**+ . ***sepuluh*** berarti	donating. [But] ***ten*** means [he] has
31	nyumbang> =	donated.
Pak Giono		
32	= ***lah* ENGGIH**	**YES THAT IS RIGHT**. **So later**
33	**mulané** { **mangké** MATUR pak	TELL Pak Kris **right**, "Pak Tri,
34	kris **toh** . pak tri pak tri =	Pak Tri
Pak Taufik		
35	{ lah itu baru wajib =	Well that is just the normal obligation.
Pak Tri		
36	= ***iya*** =	***Yes.***
Pak Giono		
37	=	
38	nyumba:ng seratus'. pak kris **meh**	donated one hundred. Pak Kris how
39	nyumbang berapa =	much do you **want** to donate."
Pak Taufik		
40	= **NIKU**	**THAT'S** the normal obligatory
41	sumbangan +wajib?+	donation.

In the talk in Extract 7.5 there are some aspects of medium choice that invite a closer look. For example, we see that the Javanese participants evaluate others' activities – in this case their donations (lines 1–4, 21) – through talk that contains NJ tokens. It also seems that a similar pattern is found when talking about others and their possessions (e.g. lines 5–6 and 17–18). This appears to contrast with intra-ethnic talk directed at specific participants present, where we find KJ tokens. These KJ forms are in **BOLD CAPS** (e.g. lines 7–16 and 25–26, 32–33 and 40). It also contrasts with talk about the state of the world, which is often in Indonesian (I), as we saw in Extracts 7.1 to 7.3.

Just as importantly, we can say that the talk above also resembles the narrative practice found in Extract 7.4. This is so because the potentially problematic event (namely how much Pak Kris** has donated) is initiated by Pak Abdurrahman* and Pak Pujianto. However, we also see that while the evaluation is done by multiple participants in Javanese, such evaluation tends to be much less certain, and open to negotiation. Indeed, morality or what is considered normative and an appropriate level of donation appears to be negotiated. For example, initially Pak Giono, Pak Dono, Pak Tri and Pak Joko all evaluate this donation using *mung* or *tok* "just" or "only" (lines 1, 3–4, 21–24). However, in lines 28–31 Pak Joko disagrees with Pak Taufik's evaluation of Pak Kris's contribution as "not yet a donation" (lines 25–26).

While what counts as a donation is debated, nevertheless Pak Taufik's comment about Pak Kris's donation and Pak Giono's suggestion that they use Pak Tri's donation as an example when talking to Pak Kris** (lines 32–34, 38–39) help solidify two categories of personhood. For example, we see the prior category of "generous donor" (Pak Tri) solidifying alongside the "not-so-generous donor" (Pak Kris**). Pak Kris' identity as a not-so-generous donor also appears to have interdiscursive links with more perduring signs of Chineseness (e.g. the social obligation to donate to the less fortunate, discussed in Sections 2.5 and 7.1). However, at this stage such positioning appears ambiguous, as the talk here is rather jovial with all participants joking and laughing about these suggestions. Even so, upon closer examination there appear to be signs associated with othering as Pak Giono imagines how Pak Joko might talk to Pak Kris** in the future. This is because his contribution is primarily in Indonesian and not the KJ and NJ mix that hitherto seems to be indicative of interpersonal talk in this ward. With reference to perduring **SRs** linking Indonesian with outsiders, we might read this talk about Pak Kris** as potentially talk about Pak Kris** "the Indonesian-speaking outsider."

As the meeting continues, over the next ten minutes the talk helps solidify a reading of Pak Kris** as not-so-generous. This is achieved as Pak Taufik goes on to explicitly state the ward's policy on payment and level of acceptable donations toward the guard post, while also reiterating that Pak Kris's donation is not sufficient for somebody who owns three houses. Shortly thereafter he,

Pak Joko, Pak Tri, Pak Dono and Pak Naryono discuss other ward members who have not paid any monthly dues, not paid their 40,000 rupiah toward the guard post, not donated any money, nor attended any ward meetings. This conversational activity helps add "attender and non-attender of meetings" to the emerging categories of personhood, such as "donor" and "non-donor." The category of "non-attender" can also be read with reference to perduring ideologies about working together for the common good (*gotong royong*), which I have discussed in Chapter 5.

The talk then turns to how to get money out of these sorts of people, with Pak Taufik and Pak Joko going so far as to say that some of the wealthier members are actually the hardest to get contributions from. In doing so, they also name a number of non-present ward members. Through such activity, other categories of personhood, such as "poor contributing ward members" and "wealthy non-contributing members" become available in subsequent talk. Shortly thereafter, an unemployed ward member's name arises and Pak Tri says it is not necessary to ask for a contribution from him and that the ward also needs to consider members' financial position before asking for contributions. His talk thus helps to solidify "poor person" as a category of personhood and financial ability as a sign used for evaluating morality and personhood more generally.

Just as importantly, Pak Joko tells everyone that Pak Kris** never misses a chance to collect money that the ward owes Pak Kris**. Together, all of this conversational activity helps further solidify local categories of personhood, such as "wealthy generous members," "wealthy but non-generous/stingy members," "poor ward members" and "debt-collecting trader" (Pak Kris**). At the end of the meeting Pak Tri singles out Pak Dono as the most consistently generous member of the ward, which again helps solidify "generous ward member" as a category of personhood, while reminding everyone of the undesirable opposite, which has been personified through Pak Kris's donations.

7.3 Patterns of linguistic sign exchange

In the previous section we saw how types of linguistic sign exchanges appeared to differ depending on participant constellations and on conversational activity. For example, we saw the use of NJ and KJ in intra-ethnic talk (that is, between those who report being Javanese). We also saw that Indonesian was used inter-ethnically or by all when doing talk for public consumption. Where NJ and KJ usage was concerned, the type of linguistic tokens used appeared to depend on a number of factors. For example, if talk was directed to a present person, then exchanges contained KJ (e.g. Extract 7.5). If the talk was about personal experience, then it contained NJ. Alternation from Indonesian to NJ also occurred when modeling others' thoughts (e.g. Extract 7.2) or talking about someone or something (e.g. Extracts 7.4 and 7.5).

Table 7.1 *Habitual linguistic sign exchanges in the December 1996 male meeting, Ward 8*

Pak Naryono										
KJ	Pak Pujianto									
KJ	**KJ**	Pak Taufik								
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	Pak Joko							
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Pak Mardiono						
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Pak Dono					
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Pak Giono				
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Pak Tri			
I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	Pak Adi*		
I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	Pak Abdurrahman*
I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	Me*

What is striking about the above usage is the contrast between this and female usage, which contained a lot of NJ both intra-ethnically and inter-ethnically, especially among those who shared an interactional history. In this section I want to summarize what appeared to be habitual linguistic sign exchanges in this meeting with a view to beginning to account for such exchanges with recourse to ethnographically recoverable information. As with Section 6.2, I present these patterns of linguistic sign exchanges in the form of a half matrix. To interpret these patterns, simply read across from one name or down from the other to find whether they use forms stereotypically associated with Indonesian (I) or *krámá* Javanese (**KJ**).

As can be seen in Table 7.1, there were no instances of NJ exchange, with all those who reported being Javanese symmetrically exchanging *krámá* Javanese (KJ) when talking with present persons and not talking about objects or others. The non-Javanese exchanged Indonesian amongst themselves and with their Javanese neighbors. In attempting to relate these patterns of linguistic sign exchange to histories of interaction, we can note that this was the first time Pak Tri had been present at a ward meeting since we arrived in this ward in April 1996. Similarly, of the eleven members who attended this meeting, those who attended earlier meetings without fail only included Pak Taufik, Pak Pujianto, Pak Abdurrahman*, Pak Mardiono, Pak Joko (all of whom were retired), Pak Naryono and myself. Pak Dono, Pak Giono and three other members not present at this meeting (Pak Sumaryono, Pak Feizel⁎, and Pak Matius**) attended these meetings every few months. Pak Kris** had not attended a meeting since I began attending in April.

Similarly to myself, Pak Adi* was a newcomer, having moved into this ward a month earlier from Surabaya in East Java. Pak Abdurrahman* was also a relative

newcomer, having moved from Bandung into this ward nine months prior to this recording. He, like most ward members, was very mobile. For example, hailing from Madura he moved to Surabaya (East Java) early in his life to work as a train conductor, before then studying law in Jakarta. He then worked as a judge at various locations throughout Indonesia, including Surabaya, Denpasar (Bali) and Bandung (West Java). As the above shows, neither Pak Adi* nor Pak Abdurrahman* used their knowledge of East Javanese varieties of Javanese in their interactions with neighbors. For Pak Abdurrahman's part, this was because he did not know KJ and did not want to use *ngoko* Javanese because of the familiarity and the types of social obligations its interactional usage indexed. Moreover, as with his wife, he thought that his advanced age and his royal lineage required respectful language, which he thought would not be invited if he used NJ.

The rest of those present had lived in this ward for varying lengths of time, with Pak Joko, Pak Naryono, Pak Taufik, and Pak Pujianto all having lived there since 1992, while the rest had been there since 1988. What is also interesting is that while the original composition of the ward was primarily non-Javanese public servants, around half had since moved and leased out their houses to an increasingly Javanese population. Many of the new Javanese population had moved from various areas of Central Java. Indeed, this was also the case for those Javanese who attended this meeting.

For example, Pak Mardiono hailed from Purwodadi in the northeast part of Central Java, Pak Naryono hailed from Klaten in the southeast, Pak Taufik spent most of his early years in Demak in the north, Pak Dono came from Semarang, Pak Pujianto hailed from Purwokerto in the southwest, Pak Giono was originally from Batang in the west, Pak Joko came from Solo in the southeast and Pak Tri hailed from Tegal in the west. Moreover, each of these regions are well-known – both by linguists and the participants themselves – for their peculiarities in accent, lexicon, pronoun usage, presence/absence of KJ, speed of speech, and so on (e.g. Ewing, 2005; Conners, 2007). In addition, some like Pak Dono and Pak Pujianto had spent many years living, studying and working in places like Yogyakarta and Jakarta and other larger cities within Central Java. In this sense, this ward was more diverse than implied through labels such as "Javanese." Indeed, in this ward there were few original inhabitants and no real shared expectations about linguistic sign usage, apart from perhaps those that they had become familiar with through schooling and consumption of broadcast or televised performances of Javanese usage (e.g. Chapter 2).

Moreover, while there was certainly the opportunity to build up such shared expectations, low attendance at meetings and at most official ward functions worked against providing opportunities for interaction among the male neighbors of this ward. These opportunities were also limited because there was a lack socializing outside of official ward functions (due in part to long working

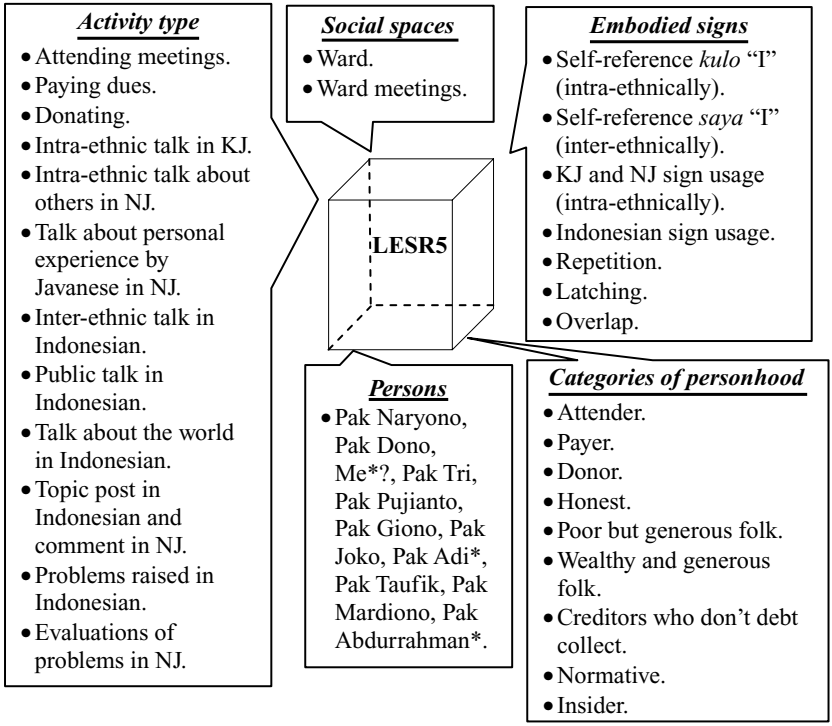

Diagram 7.2 Locally Emerging Semiotic Register 5 (LESR5)

hours) and because of the spatial and architectural layout of the neighborhood (see Chapter 3). In turn, this also worked against a move to the type of linguistic sign exchanges found amongst many of the women heads of household in this ward (Chapter 6).

7.4 Conclusions

In summarizing the discussion thus far, we can say that through the positioning of Pak Kris**, Pak Roi**, and other members of the ward as non-normative or deviant, those doing the positioning are inferring that they themselves are persons who do not fit this category of personhood. As these categories of personhood have emerged they have often co-occurred with other sign usage. As argued in relation to data presented in Chapters 5 and 6, this sign usage may also become indexed to these normative and non-normative categories of personhood. For example, through practices of repetition, latching and Javanese

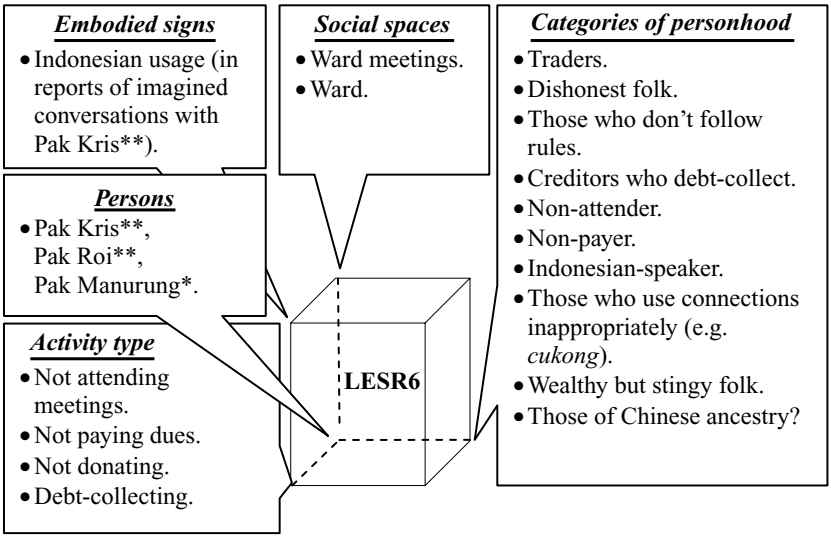

Diagram 7.3 Locally Emerging Semiotic Register 6 (LESR6)

usage (intra-ethnically) when positioning others as non-normative personas (or outsiders), this practice also figures in the formation of a **semiotic register** and its constellation of signs. Signs from these **SRs** can be drawn upon as a conversational resource for subsequent interactions as well as a resource for identifying others as either members of this **community of practice**, or outsiders in the case where these signs are not present.

Put slightly differently, the presence or absence of such signs in situated interaction enable participants to make judgments about their own and others' membership in a particular category of personhood associated with this ward. Diagrams 7.2 and 7.3 summarize these locally emerging **semiotic registers** and their constellation of signs. In the box entitled "categories of personhood" we see Chinese ancestry is still an ambiguous category. Part of the task of Chapter 8 is to explore whether and to what extent the signs and the other categories of personhood represented in these diagrams figure in the solidification of the identities and expectations for social conduct discussed thus far.

In concluding, while it may come as no surprise that there appears to be some shared knowledge about persons and events within this ward (e.g. Extract 7.4), the topic of the ward's financial position appears to be one element that enabled the (re)establishment of what might be termed "common knowledge" about persons and events within this ward (see e.g. the discussion preceding Extract 7.5). This type of conversational activity in turn enabled the

co-construction and (re)production of categories of personhood and with it expectations for social conduct within a transient setting where neighbors irregularly attended meetings (e.g. Section 7.3). Indeed, as we will see in the following chapter, the recounting of the financial situation of the ward and the financial status of its members is just one more important factor figuring in processes of **social identification** and in the (re)production of expectations for social conduct in this ward.

8 Chineseness as Deviance

8.0 Introduction

In this chapter I continue to explore how Pak Kris's emerging identity as a stingy non-attending ward member solidifies in the routine meeting that occurred one month after the meeting discussed in Chapter 7. In doing so, I draw more heavily upon my ethnographic data. In particular, I point out how conversational activities in the January meeting co-occurred with local and wider events in a way that contributed to the co-construction and (re)production of particular categories of personhood. In Section 8.1 I start by showing how the financial situation of the ward and the financial status of its members is an important factor figuring in processes of **social identification** and in the (re)production of expectations for social conduct in this ward. In Section 8.2 I continue to look at the nexus between signs from different spatial-temporal settings to point out how they are used as resources to identify not only non-present others, but those doing this **social identification**. In doing so, I highlight how this process figures in the formation of two **locally emerging semiotic registers** (**LESRs**). One of the interesting things about one of these **LESRs** relates to linguistic sign usage, which contrasts with patterns of female sign exchange discussed in Chapter 6. In accounting for this contrast, I again look further into participants' **trajectories of socialization** within this ward (Section 8.3).

8.1 (Re)establishing finances and social relations

In this section I begin my analysis of the early stages of the January ward meeting, which was held at my house. As noted in Chapter 7, during January there was an increase in negative representations of Indonesian-Chinese in the media and in the ward itself. This co-occurred with the ward's financial problems and the Islamic fasting month where there were regular Friday sermons and sermons prior to the evening prayer session (*Tarawih*) about the value of giving

money, goods or food to those who are less fortunate. I argue that talk about financial solutions to different events within this ward are pivotal in establishing common knowledge, which then figures in the shaping of subsequent talk.

In this meeting there were just nine participants, seven of whom were at the previous December meeting. Pak Kris** was again not present despite being invited both orally and in writing. There were, of course, others who were not present, including some neighbors who attended the December meeting (Pak Tri, Pak Dono and Pak Giono) and a number of serial non-attenders and non-payers of dues, many of whom also became topics of talk in this meeting. There are also two neighbors who did not attend the December meeting. There was the ward treasurer, Pak Feizel*, who is an original inhabitant of this ward, having moved here from Sulawesi in 1988. Throughout the meeting he regularly indexed his religious persuasion and his piousness through the use of expressions such as *Insya'Allah* "God willing," *Bismillah* "in the name of God" (uttered before drinking and eating), *Alhamdulillah* "praise be to God," and through reference to his activities (such as *saur* "having a light meal between 3 a.m. to 4 a.m. prior to beginning the dawn to dusk Islamic fast"). There was also Pak Yusuf, who arrived about forty-five minutes into the meeting. This was the first ward meeting that Pak Yusuf has attended in seven months. His attendance here may well have been to do with my own recent interactions with him where he had helped me obtain a motorcycle license. Diagram 8.1 shows where each participant was seated.

At the start of the meeting Pak Naryono, the elected ward head, announced the agenda items in Indonesian, including the general purpose of meetings (to organize finances and to socialize), an announcement from the district office about the need to eliminate breeding areas for the mosquitoes that cause dengue fever, and how they will deal with the gift that needs to be given to the guard at the end of the fasting month. Pak Taufik noted that this particular guard had not endeared himself to ward members because it was unclear whether he actually guarded the ward in the evenings (as discussed in the December meetings).

Pak Joko then went on to note that the guard should be told to approach each individual household, as in the past. He added that this option was better because otherwise if they used ward cash or set a tariff, then it would mean that only those who regularly attend meetings and pay contributions would shoulder the financial burden. We can thus see how ward financing figures in the shaping of subsequent talk. In particular, we can see that categories of personhood – such as "attenders," "non-attenders," "payers", and "non-payers" – from the December meeting are (re)established here. These categories of personhood solidified shortly thereafter as Pak Naryono added a further agenda item, namely the state of contributions toward the new guard post.

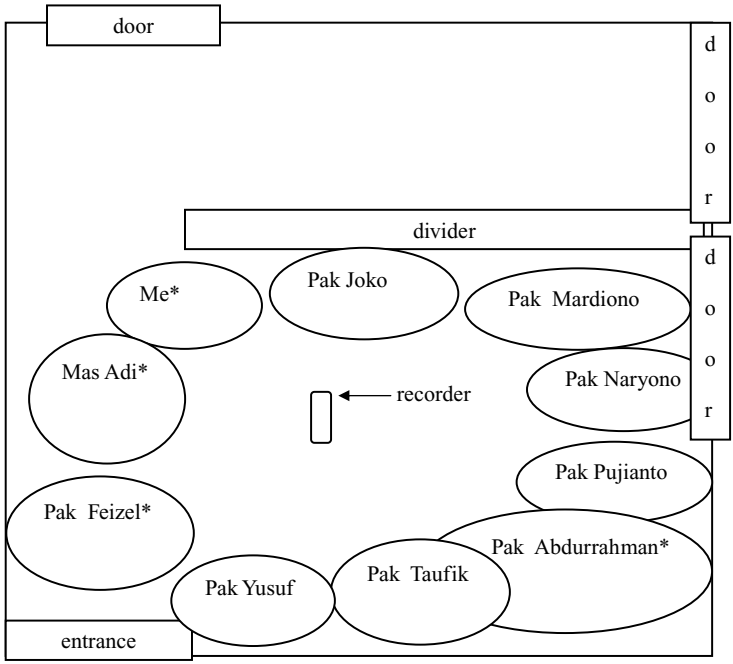

Diagram 8.1 The ward meeting January 26 1997

Extract 8.1 We have got all we can out of ward members

Pak Naryono		
1	sama ini pak #apa# (0.9)	And this everyone, what is it, the
2	poskamling . +iuran+ poskamling	guard post. It looks like we have
3	itu kelihatannya sudah (0.6)	reached the limit of contributions
4	maksimal' (1.0) yang ditarik itu	toward the guard post, it looks like
5	kelihatannya sudah maksimal .	we have asked for money from as
6	cuma #ini# (0.6) yang >pemilik asli	many [ward members] as possible.
7	aja yang belum> (1.1) jadi' dalam	It's only the landlords of some
8	kondisi: . maksimal ini . masih	houses who remain. So even with
9	punya (0.9) utang pak kris' . masih	maximal payments, we still have a
10	dua ratus =	debt with Pak Kris of two hundred [thousand rupiah].
Pak Joko		
11	= lima puluh =	Fifty.
Pak Naryono		
12	= lima	Fiftyish.
13	#puluhan# .	
Pak Joko		
14	dua ratus lima puluh dua (1.6)	Two hundred and fifty-two [thousand rupiah].

In talking about those who have paid (lines 2–5) and landlords who haven't paid (6–7) the categories of "payer" and "non-payer" established by Pak Joko begin to solidify. Just as importantly, the above talk about ward finances brings into focus a relationship between Pak Kris** and this financial situation, namely that he is the major creditor to the ward. While this is basically a re-stating of information covered in the December meeting, nevertheless this talk again restates and constructs as "common knowledge" the financial situation of the ward. Moreover, and as might be expected in such meetings, this conversational work helps shape the subsequent discussions. For example, Pak Adi* notes that he has tried to find out via his employer (who leases the house in which he lives and works) how to contact the landlord to seek payment for ward rates. In the course of discussion, particular landlords' names are stated. This helps to link categories of "non-payers" with named persons. Pak Feizel's interaction with Pak Joko shortly thereafter helps solidify this linking of named persons with non-payers.

Extract 8.2 Just tell me who hasn't yet paid

Pak Joko		
1	pendapatnya? (1.0) cuman' (1.6)	The contributions are only 840,000
2	{ satu juta #delapan ratus empat	[rupiah].
3	puluh ribu#	
Pak Feizel*		
4	{ ndak . menurut catatan pak	No. According to your records Mr.
5	joko::: yang belum belum #siapa	Joko, who hasn't hasn't yet paid?
6	saja# (0.8)	
Pak Joko		
7	ini . termasuk ya ada' . yang belum	This includes those who haven't yet
8	sama sekali { ada #yang# (1.7)	contributed anything, there are also
9	kurang	those whose [contributions] are not paid in full.
Pak Feizel*		
10	{ nah . itu::? to:long	Now those, please make a letter
11	dibikin surat menghimbau (0.9)	[which] asks [them] to pay up their
12	>supaya melunasi kewajiban'> .	obligations as a ward member. If
13	sebagai warga rt (1.0) >kalau ndak .	not, and [we] just let it be, then it
14	***ya*** didiamkan ***ya*** begitu terus . kita	will be like that over and over. It
15	kita ini terus yang nanggung> (0.6)	will be us who have to shoulder the
16	kita kita yang ngurusi . kita kita	burden. Us who organize things, us
17	yang nangung . wa:h enak banget	who shoulder the burden, wow very
18	(2.0) jadi dicatat pak? . yang	convenient [for them]. So write
19	pemilik pemilik rumah yang	down Pak [Joko], the [name] of the
20	membelot . +cata:t+ { ***iya***	owners of the deserted houses write it down, ***OK***.

Extract 8.2 (*cont.*)

Pak Joko		
21	{ yang pemilik	The owners? The owners. The
22	>yang pemilik> . yang	majority [of those who haven't
23	#kebanyakan pemiliknya# =	paid] are the owners.
Pak Feizel*		
24	= nah . it:u dicari >alamatnya di	Now, search for their address and
25	mana . disurati> (0.4) >+resmi+	send them a letter. An official letter
26	harus disurati pak rt> (1.6)	from the head of the ward.

As can be seen in lines 5–6, Pak Feizel* asks Pak Joko to provide the names of those who have not yet paid their contributions. Shortly thereafter Pak Feizel* begins to link these non-paying ward members with ward obligations (*kewajiban sebagai Warga RT*) in lines 12–13. In doing so, he not only helps solidify the category of named non-paying ward members, but more directly links it with social obligation as it applies in this ward. In addition, we can also see that absentee house owners in general are considered the deviant ones (lines 21–23).

In the talk that follows, Pak Joko checks to what extent they have to be strict with the tariff in cases where someone has paid something. Pak Pujianto repeats some of Pak Feizel's earlier talk about those present having to shoulder the burden and then agrees with Pak Feizel* that some contribution is better than nothing. He goes on to add that what is really unacceptable is those who pay nothing at all and don't want to know anything about ward affairs. In doing so, they add "uncaring" to the category of "non-attender" and "non-payer." Pak Joko adds that if all homeowners had paid their contributions it would be possible to pay out the debt for the guard post. Then Pak Joko, Pak Feizel*, Pak Taufik, Pak Pujianto, Pak Mardiono and Pak Naryono go on to name and discuss, one by one, those who they think/know have not contributed. The talk below followed directly afterward.

Extract 8.3 Naming and locating non-payers

Pak Joko		
1	**sing** DALEM**é NIKU SINTEN**	**WHOSE IS the** HOUSE **OVER**
2	pak . **sebalahé omah sing** (???)	**THERE** Mr. [Mardiono]? **Beside**
3	(???) =	**the house** (??? ????)
Pak Mardiono		
4	= **sing NIKU** pak indro .	**THAT one is** Mr. Indro. **This is**
5	**ngenggeni** pak luma:s? =	Mr. Lumas's [house].
Pak Joko		
6	= pak lumas	Mr. Lumas **is here** (???) (???). [we]
7	.. **nggené** pak lumas (???) (???)	**HAVEN'T YET GOT**
8	**DERENG** . **sing GADHAH**	[contributions from] **the person**

Extract 8.3 (*cont.*)

9	**GRIYO** . terus **sing NIKU** (0.8)	**who OWNS** [that] **HOUSE**. And
10	**sebelahé** pak (1.6) **sebelahé** pak	**THAT** one, beside Mr., beside Mr.
11	yudi **NIKU** (0.8) **#SINTEN**	Yudi **OVER THERE**, **WHOSE IS**
12	**NIKU# sebelahé** pak yudi **#NIKU**	**THAT**? **WHO is beside** Mr. Yudi
13	**SINTEN** # .	**OVER THERE**?
Pak Feizel*		
14	pak madi =	Mr. Madi.
Pak Taufik		
15	= pak madi =	Mr. Madi.
Pak Joko		
16	= pak madi	**OVER THERE** [is] Mr. Madi.
17	**NIKU** =	
Pak Feizel*		
18	= madi surabaya =	Madi [lives in] Surabaya.

In the above talk the linking of named persons with categories of personhood, such as "payers" and "non-payers," not only helps solidify these categories but it also highlights some interdiscursive links with talk from the December meeting. For example, we see that while non-payers were positioned as engaging in unacceptable or deviant behavior, it still appears that some members use other elevating *krámá inggil* (KI) honorifics when referring to some non-payers (see Pak Joko's use of *dalem* "house" on line 1). Just as importantly, we also see that patterns of linguistic sign exchange among those who report being Javanese appears to continue patterns seen in the December meeting. For example, we can see that when directly addressing each other, Pak Joko and Pak Mardiono exchange signs associated with NJ and KJ.

It is also interesting to note here that while Pak Feizel* (a non-Javanese migrant) doesn't use any Javanese, nevertheless he appears to understand it and be able to contribute to the ongoing conversation (e.g. line 14). In this exchange we can see some similarities with practices found in women ward meetings, although I should hasten to add that during my stay in Ward 8 I never heard Pak Feizel* use Javanese. As an adequator (i.e. someone who engaged in **adequation**), he thus had competence to comprehend but not to perform linguistic sameness. This was despite living and working in Java for some eight years.

In summarizing the analysis so far, we can see that ward finances play a role in starting processes of **social identification**. For example, during the early part of this meeting non-attendance is linked to the ward's financial situation. In this way, categories of personhood established at the December meeting are appropriated and recontextualized, especially categories of "attendee" and "non-attendee," "payer of ward dues", and "non-payer of ward dues." These categories of personhood also co-occur with patterns of linguistic sign exchange

that resemble those in the December meeting. In addition, we also see how Pak Kris** is linked with the financial woes of the ward, although his position is still ambiguous at this stage. In the following talk we will see how all of the above categories and signs are further recontextualized to position Pak Kris** as Chinese and deviant.

8.2 Chineseness as deviance

While a number of ward members are named as non-payers in the talk immediately preceding Extract 8.4, Pak Kris** becomes the focus of discussion through recounts of his financial contribution toward the construction of the guard post and his ownership of three houses. In doing so, we also see other interdiscursive links to signs of personhood that emerged in the previous meeting, especially those relating to generosity and stinginess, and wealthy and ordinary ward members.

Extract 8.4 Pak Kris** as a non-attender, potential stinge and business person

Pak Naryono		
1	**DERENG iso** nyaur lah (0.7) kas =	[We] **CAN'T yet** pay the debt [from] the [ward] cash.
Pak Joko		
2	=	Pay the debt, **the debt** [from] **THE**
3	(laughs) saur **sauré** kas **NIKU**	[ward] cash. **The** [ward] **cash can't**
4	(laughs) **#kasé sing ora iso** nyaur#	pay the debt.
5	=	
Pak Feizel*		
6	= >pak kris ini> (1.6) dia sekali	This Mr. Kris, he should be told to
7	sekali suruh ha+dirlah+ (0.9)	attend every once in a while.
Pak Joko		
8	sudah saya pe+sen+ #ok# =	Actually, I've already told him.
Pak Feizel*		
9	= >ndak	[He has] never
10	pernah hadir> nanti saya ngomong	been present. I'll talk to him so he
11	supaya nyumbang lagi+lah+ (0.6)	donates some more.
Pak Joko		
12	sudah saya #pesen# =	I've already told him.
Pak Feizel*		
13	= >(masa??)	(Surely it's not just???) us here
14	sama sama . orang kita kita #ini# =	[who have to donate].
Pak Joko		
15	= **nek**	**If this**
16	**jeh** soré **mau** ditelpon telpon .	afternoon, **earlier** [I] phoned him,
17	{#tu# nggak bisa]	[he said] "I can't come."
Pak Feizel*		
18	{kan pengusaha >itu loh> (2.0)	He is a business person, right!

In starting my analysis there appear to be interdiscursive links between *krámá* Javanese (KJ) usage here and in the last meeting, where KJ is used in talk between participants rather than in talk about others. For example, in line 3 Pak Joko appears to orient to Pak Naryono's KJ token usage (line 1). There also appear to be some similarities with the way women in this ward represent the speech of deviant ward members. In this case Pak Kris's talk is represented as said in Indonesian (line 17). While on its own such usage may be ambiguous, it does represent a continuation of a pattern of representing talk either to or by Pak Kris** as "said in Indonesian" (e.g. Extract 7.5, lines 38–39). Moreover, its occurrence in what is primarily negative talk about Pak Kris**, recourse to perduring links between Indonesian and outsiders (e.g. Sections 2.3 and 2.4), and the contrast with other members' talk, which often contains Javanese tokens, might invite other readings.

In the above talk we can also see that Pak Feizel's reference to Pak Kris's non-attendance (lines 6–7 and 9–10), need to donate again (lines 10–11), and his identity as a business person (line 18) has interdiscursive links with prior talk in this meeting and talk in the December meeting. Linguistic sign usage also seems to have similar interdiscursive links, with inter-ethnic talk being in Indonesian (lines 6–14), *saya* used for self-reference in such interactions (lines 8 and 12), and talk about others by Javanese in NJ and Indonesian (lines 15–17). Just as importantly, we can see that this talk achieves a number of things. For example, it helps solidify categories of "non-payers," "donors," "business people" or "traders," and "those who do and don't work for the common good of the ward" (i.e. by attending meetings), while also linking them directly with named persons in the ward, in this case Pak Kris**. Just as importantly, this talk simultaneously (re)produces expectations for social conduct in this ward.

This talk also begins to suggest that Pak Kris** is a direct cause of the ward's financial woes. Such a local linking of persons and conditions also resonates with the perduring ideologies of personhood discussed in Sections 2.5 and 7.1 about Chinese business persons who should donate. This positioning of Pak Kris** as someone who should donate further solidifies in the talk immediately following that represented in Extract 8.4.

Extract 8.5 Comparing signs: generosity and stinginess

Pak Pujianto		
19	dia memberikan . berapa #pak# .	How much did he give Mr. Kris?
20	{ kris	
Pak Feizel*		
21	{ >ya sama sama> kita juga	Yeah the same as we did.
Pak Joko		
22	{ seratus . #cuma satus# (0.5)	One hundred. Just one hundred.

Extract 8.5 (*cont.*)

Pak Feizel*		
23	>tiga rumah> seratus =	Three houses, one hundred!
Pak Pujianto		
24	= ***ya*** lumayan	***Yeah*** Mr. Tri's donation was better,
25	pak tri {#toh#	right?
Pak Taufik		
26	{(??? buka::n') =	(??? or not)
Pak Joko		
27	= pak tri	Mr. Tri [contributed] one hundred
28	seratus enam puluh =	and sixty.
Pak Pujianto		
29	= lah ***iya***? =	That's right.
Pak Feizel*		
30	=	
31	>makanya> (1.6)	Exactly.

I'd like to start by pointing to an interesting interdiscursive link with talk in the previous meeting. In particular, we see here that Pak Pujianto asks the same question that he asked at the previous meeting (lines 19–20) even though he knows the answer. Such questioning might be preliminarily analyzed as similar to the type of information-withholding discussed by Besnier (1989), which enables other participants to take joint responsibility for gossip. Just as importantly, however, it revives the discussion started in the December meeting concerning Pak Kris's contribution and lack of generosity. Indeed, we can see these interdiscursive links through the representation of Pak Kris's contribution as "just one hundred" (line 22), especially when compared with Pak Tri's contribution, which is discussed in lines 24–29.

In addition, we can also see that Pak Feizel* hints at a difference in financial ability between those present at the meeting and Pak Kris** (lines 21 and 23). This talk therefore also helps to further solidify categories of "wealthy folk" and "ordinary folk," while continuing to potentially point to perduring signs relating to Chineseness (e.g. stingy business people who should donate to the less fortunate). In the talk that directly follows, we see these categories further solidify as they are contrasted with other ideologies of personhood emanating from Islam.

Extract 8.6 Not meeting standards, Islam, and profits

Pak Taufik		
32	pak anu ya belum memberi it::u	Mr. so and so yeah hasn't yet given.
33	#masih . resmi itu::# tarafnya	That is still [only] the official
34	standar =	[amount] the standard tariff.
Pak Joko		
35	= standar #memang#	Standard, that's right. Standard.
36	standar (1.3)	

Extract 8.6 (*cont.*)

Pak Taufik		
37	belum { shodagoh . #itu#]	That's not yet [Islamic] voluntary charity.
Pak Feizel*		
38	{ >belum (???) mangkanya	Not yet (???), exactly, I've said we
39	tuh saya bilangkan kita belanja	shop with this respected person.
40	sama beliau::> (1.3) udah . banyak	That's it, it's a lot of shopping right
41	juga belanja toh (laughs) (0.6)	(laughs). No need to take a profit
42	>nggak usah ambil untunglah>	(laughs). Keep the profit here [in
43	(laughs) { untungnya simpankan	the ward].
44	sini'	

In the above talk we see that Pak Taufik and Pak Joko appear to build upon their December positioning of Pak Kris** as someone who only donates the normal amount (Extract 7.5, lines 23–36). In doing so, they imply that he should give more than the norm. We also see that Pak Taufik, himself a very active Islamic religious teacher, equates this level of donation as not yet giving in Islamic terms (line 37), a position oriented to by Pak Feizel* (line 38). While Pak Kris** himself is a Buddhist, nevertheless such imagery appears to continue when Pak Feizel* – who as we have seen also positions himself as a pious Muslim – suggests that Pak Kris** needn't take profits from endeavors that involve the ward (lines 42–44).

At this stage, however, such representations of Pak Kris** seem to still be quite respectful or at least somewhat neutral. This can be seen, in part, through Pak Feizel's use of *beliau* (line 40), which is a third person term of reference stereotypically associated with the elevation of, or the giving of respect to, the referent. However, the laughter that follows such usage leaves the interpretation of this third person reference rather ambiguous, at least until Pak Joko's turn, which as we can see in the talk that directly follows suggests that this usage was rather ironic.

Extract 8.7 Pak Kris** as an uncaring Chinese businessman

Pak Joko		
45	{ **saben** minggu eh **saben**	**Each** week, eh, **each** what is it
46	apa itu . sabtu hari sabtu mesti	Saturday, Saturday [he] routinely
47	nagih it:u? (1.0)	comes to debt collect.
Pak Feizel*		
48	makanya? =	Exactly [my point].
Pak Joko		
49	= dia #mesti nagih# (0.6)	He always debt collects on
50	kalau sabtu { #mesti nagih itu#	Saturday, he always debt collects.

Extract 8.7 (*cont.*)

Pak Feizel*		
51	{ orang kaya gitu	People like that, if they are not told
52	>kalau ndak diberi pengertian>	then they just don't understand,
53	ndak ngerti dia >***#ya*** kan#> .	right? All [they] know is business,
54	>bisnis terus jalan> kaya gitu ok =	it is like that.
Pak Pujianto		
55	=	Just business, (including
56	bisnis saja . { (termasuk	**planning**??)
57	**ngrencanakké** kok'??)	
Pak Feizel*		
58	{ >kalau dia mau	If he wanted to attend [meetings]
59	hadir> . >mau dirembug> digini	and discuss things, like this, [then]
60	mau aja::' =	that would be OK.
Pak Taufik		
61	= apa karena cines itu	Is it because [he] is Chinese? Is it
62	***#ya#*** (1.0) apa karena cines #itu# =	because he is Chinese?
Pak Feizel*		
63	=	***Yes***, because of that. All Chinese
64	***iya*** >karena itu> orang cina paling	do is do business.
65	dagang' =	

We can see that Pak Feizel's earlier comment about not taking profits seems to lead to Pak Joko's reminding those there that Pak Kris** never misses an opportunity to debt collect. In doing so, Pak Joko also provides further insights into what he sees as normative, that is, not enthusiastically or even routinely debt collecting. We also see the solidification of negative representations of Pak Kris** as someone who is only interested in money and business and not in the condition of his ward's finances (lines 51–60). More importantly, however, is the now explicit ethnicization of Pak Kris** as Chinese (lines 61–65) where Pak Taufik ponders whether such deviant or strange behavior is due to Pak Kris's Chineseness. This talk seems to disambiguate earlier signs of personhood, which suggested Pak Kris** may have been of Chinese ancestry. In doing so, it also explicitly links all the non-desirable and non-normative behaviors within this ward (e.g. non-donor, non-attender of meetings, wealthy stingy folk, et cetera) to Pak Kris** and to Chineseness via the use of two words, *Cines* and *Cina* "Chinese" (lines 61–62, 64).

While the first use of the term *Cines* might have been a result of Pak Taufik not wishing to invoke the racist connotations associated with the term *Cina* (e.g. Section 2.5), Pak Feizel* appears to interpret Pak Taufik's *Cines* in this way with Pak Taufik not correcting this interpretation in subsequent turns. It is also worthy of note that such explicit racism occurs at a time when public racism toward those of Chinese decent was increasingly authorized by the New

Order regime. As we also see in the following talk, such negative behavior is also contrasted with what should be the case. That is, we are told what Pak Feizel*, Pak Taufik and Pak Joko think is good and moral.

Extract 8.8 Islam and morality

Pak Taufik		
66	= kalau (??? ???) pinjam	If (??? ???) borrowed [from]
67	Sunardi mesjid =	Sunardi [for] the Mosque =
Pak Feizel*		
68	= heeh =	Yes.
Pak Taufik		
69	= itu	Its **yeah** [repayment] is **as** [we]
70	**yo samoh waé** #(???)# =	**like**.
Pak Feizel*		
71	=	
72	>makanya> =	Exactly [my point].
Pak Taufik		
73	= #bebas	As we can.
74	***kok***# (0.6)	***you know***
Pak Feizel*		
75	>pak? . sunardi itu kan?> . >orang	Mr. Sunardi right? He is one of us
76	kita ***ya***. sini ya?> . mesjid tuh pun	here ***yes***? The Mosque is there, [but
77	sana semaunya. #ndak masalah# =	repayment] is as we like, not a problem.
Pak Taufik		
78	=	
79	jutaan =	Millions.
Pak Feizel*		
80	= coba? =	How about this?
Pak Taufik		
81	= jutaan itu =	Its millions [that were loaned for the Mosque].
Pak Feizel*		
82	= >itu	He keeps coming to collect.
83	ditagih terus> (1.3)	
Pak Joko		
84	asal minggu (**meh**??) nagih . #kalau	If it has been a week he (**will**) come
85	minggu nagih#	to debt collect. If it's been a week he will come to debt collect.

The import of this last extract lies not only in the continued orientation of members to the positioning of themselves and Pak Kris**, but also in its exemplification of how local knowledge about persons and events can help add to an emerging model of morality and normative behavior within this ward, a model which is used to judge others. In particular, we see that Pak Sunardi (incidentally a trader who is not of Chinese ancestry), who lives in another nearby low-income ward, is presented as an ideal person who

never debt-collects despite very large debts (lines 66–81) and his low income. In contrast, Pak Kris** debt-collects every week without fail (lines 82–85), despite his represented wealth (e.g. his three houses). Such conversational work also serves to solidify the emerging signs of personhood relating to wealthy stingy and non-Muslim folk and those who are poor but generous and Moslem.

It is also interesting to note here that when talking about others, Pak Taufik appears to follow the pattern of NJ token usage (e.g. line 69) that occurred in the December meeting. Just as importantly, while Pak Feizel* (a migrant from Sulawesi) doesn't use Javanese inter-ethnically, there is further evidence that he does understand talk in Javanese in lines 71–72. Indeed, in a number of instances where Javanese is used, he appears to be able to follow these conversations. Again such an ability contrasts with that of Pak Kris**, who has been represented as an Indonesian-speaker in Extract 8.4. Similarly to my argument relating to Bu Tobing* in Chapter 5, such usage may also contribute to the positioning of Pak Kris** as deviant insofar as those who use Javanese or understand it are those who are present and thus insiders.

Without reproducing the rest of the talk, which goes on for another three minutes, the positioning of Pak Kris** continues and with it the further solidification of categories of personhood and the notions of morality and normative behavior associated with each category. For example, Pak Joko and Pak Feizel* continue to remind all present about Pak Kris's non-attendance and debt-collecting activities, with Pak Feizel* going as far to say that if he meets Pak Kris** he will reprimand him. This is shortly followed by Pak Pujianto noting that those who become rich do so by this type of behavior and Pak Taufik's further reminder of Mr. Sunardi's easy-going attitude toward debt. Non-attendance at meetings then became a general issue resulting in agreement that ward members should attend meetings at least every three months.

In summarizing this section, we can say that through the solidification of Pak Kris's identity as deviant and Chinese those doing the positioning have also implied that they themselves are persons who do not fit this category of personhood. Arguably, such positioning was made possible not only through interdiscursive relationships with sign usage in the December meeting, but also through interdiscursive relationships with other events and conditions inside and outside of this ward. For example, the low occupancy of houses in this ward, low attendance of members, irregular payments by those who did live in the ward coupled with monsoonal rain, a deteriorating road, an increase in dengue fever cases, political events, fear of crime, the fasting month, increases in mass-mediated negative representations of Indonesian-Chinese, and so on all helped crystallize certain topics for ward discussion, most of which related back to ward finances. As with the **semiotic encounters** in the December meeting,

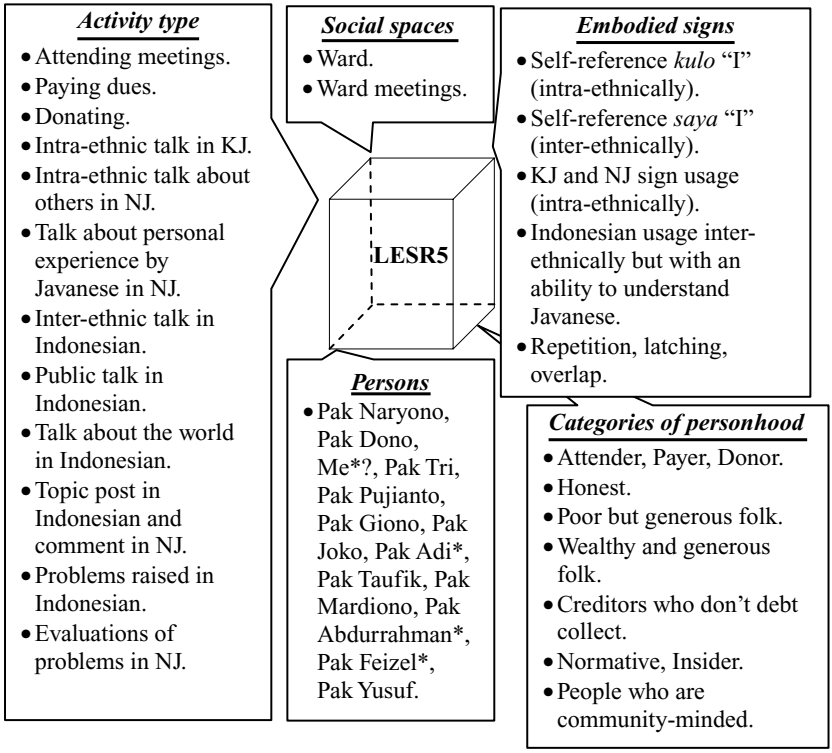

Diagram 8.2 Locally Emerging Semiotic Register 5 (LESR5)

the categories of personhood that emerged in January also co-occurred with other sign usage.

Diagrams 8.2 and 8.3 summarize these locally emerging **semiotic registers** and their constellation of signs. In comparison to Diagram 7.3, Chinese ancestry has now solidified as a category of personhood attached to **LESR6**, which also now includes Pak Kris**. We have also seen that linguistic sign usage appears quite similar to that found in the December meeting and this is represented in **LESR5**. Just as importantly, such usage continues to contrast with the patterns of linguistic sign usage amongst the women of this ward. In trying to account for these differences the following section takes a closer look at linguistic sign usage and participants' **trajectories of socialization** within this ward. In doing so, we can look at questions of whether and to what extent the patterns of sign usage are habitual among certain chains of ward members, and if so, why this might be the case. In doing so, I will be especially interested in examining how ethnographic data can be used in exploring "why" questions.

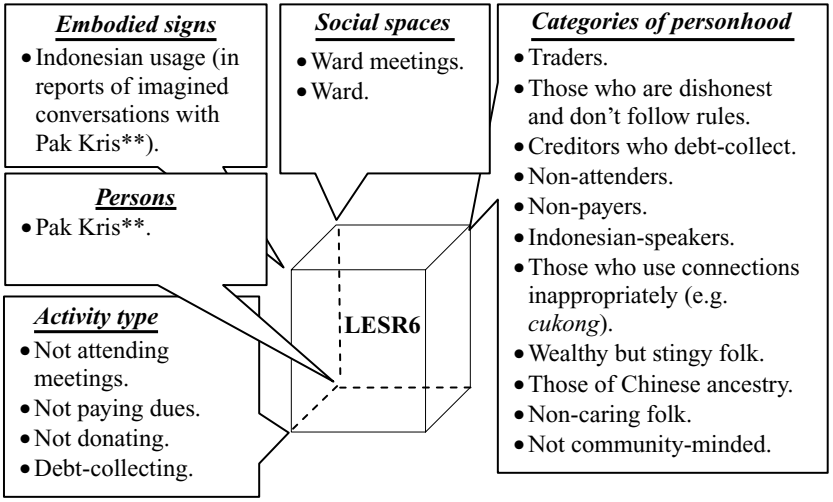

Diagram 8.3 Locally Emerging Semiotic Register 6 (LESR6)

8.3 Linguistic sign exchanges and interactional histories

This section brings together three different types of data. The first is a summary of linguistic sign exchanges between male members of this ward. I then relate such patterns to members' interactional histories before providing summaries of interviews about language use and users that I conducted in the last few months of fieldwork in 1998. As with Section 7.3, I present the patterns of linguistic sign exchanges in the form of half matrices. To interpret these patterns simply read across from one name or down from the other to find whether they use forms stereotypically associated with Indonesian, *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) or *krámá* Javanese (**KJ**).

Table 8.1 focuses on exchanges between those males who reported being Javanese, while Table 8.2 focuses on exchanges among non-Javanese males and between these persons and male Javanese members of this ward. While the basis of this evidence has been laid out in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, I need to reiterate here that much of this data is based upon my observations of sign usage in interaction among particular pairs in several contexts. These observations did not differentiate between the types of linguistic patterns associated with different participant footings and conversational activities that I have fleshed out when looking at extracts of talk. Accordingly, this data needs to be viewed as *indicative* of habitual patterns of linguistic sign exchange.

As can be seen in Table 8.1, the two main patterns of exchange are symmetrical exchanges of either NJ or KJ. For none of the other pairs was there any evidence that age and status (talked about by these participants in terms of

Table 8.1 *Habitual exchanges among the male Javanese of Ward 8*

Naryono												
KJ	Pujianto											
KJ	**KJ**	Taufik										
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	Yusuf									
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Joko								
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Mardiono							
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Dono						
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Giono					
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Tri				
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	Yudianto			
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Yulianto		
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj	**KJ**	Nurholis	
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Sumaryono

income, occupation, education and material possessions) made a difference, an observation that resonates with Errington's (1985) study of linguistic change in Central Java. What is striking here is that there are just two dyads (Dono-Yudianto and Yudianto-Nurholis), who exchange *ngoko* Javanese habitually. In what follows, I try and sketch out what I mean by "habitually" with an eye to accounting for these differences.

Let's first consider the males who exchanged KJ symmetrically. Although Pak Pujianto (aged 73) was a pensioner and the eldest member of this ward, he never missed one of the ward meetings during my stay in Ward 8. He also very occasionally attended working bees (on the few occasions that they occurred), and was always present at Independence Day celebrations and religious celebrations held in the ward, such as the end of fasting month *Halal Bihalal* gathering. Apart from these occasions, however, he rarely interacted with his neighbors, even those who were his immediate neighbors. The main reason for this was that he kept himself busy by running a stationery and photocopying shop attached to his house. He looked after this shop from around 8 a.m. morning until 5 p.m. every day, although sickness sometimes meant that his son would do this instead.

Although his daily routine kept him reasonably busy, it wasn't so busy that he couldn't socialize with his neighbors had he wanted to. His neighbors who lived directly in front of him (to his left was an empty house and to his right was an empty garage attached to a shop) were in fact also pensioners and we might expect them to also have spare time to socialize. However, Pak Joko (aged 65), who was one of them, was also busy from about 6 a.m. until 5 p.m. tending his

small business. Hence, they had little chance to interact during normal working hours.

From my conversations with Pak Pujianto I also got the impression that he did not particularly like to mix with Pak Joko. The first clues to this came when I was asking Pak Pujianto who else I should practice my Javanese with. He suggested Pak Naryono (aged 41) because he was from Klaten. However, he directly warned against seeing Pak Joko, who he said would not know. He hastened to add that his own expertise was due to his education, his city upbringing, and royal background (he had the title of *Raden*). In other words, he was saying Pak Joko had no expertise in Javanese because he was from a rural area (which actually wasn't far from Solo, one of the centers of exemplary Javanese), had no education apart from primary school, and no royal background. In ward meetings too they rarely broke off from the main group discussion into a private separate conversation. This can be compared with his other interactions with younger non-Javanese, like Pak Abdurrahman* (aged 61), where they interacted over many turns. Whatever his personal reasons for not interacting with Pak Joko, nevertheless this pair rarely interacted outside of ward activities.

Pak Yusuf (aged 33) was another member of the ward who tended to symmetrically exchange KJ in his interactions with Pak Joko. Pak Yusuf almost never attended ward functions or Independence Day celebrations, and in fact the January meeting was the only ward meeting that he attended during my stay in Ward 8. In terms of his daily activities, Pak Yusuf worked organizing passports from Monday to Saturday and had departed for work by 7 a.m. and only returned home at around 4 p.m. (the immigration office closed at 3 p.m. but was located an hour's ride from Ward 8). After returning home from work, Pak Yusuf often spent his afternoons playing chess at a neighboring ward, where his brother lived. He noted that he went to another ward to play chess because there was no one in Ward 8 who was around at this time of day.

While Pak Joko, whose business was never exceptionally busy, may have been a perfect chess partner for Pak Yusuf, the fact that Pak Joko often collected monies on the ward's behalf meant that he was someone to avoid. This is especially so for Pak Yusuf, whose income was not regular and who was seven months in arrears when he paid his first and last contribution at the January meeting (for a look at transcripts of his interaction on this subject with Pak Joko and Pak Taufik see Goebel, 2005). Pak Yusuf also lived at the opposite end of the ward to Pak Joko, which also made encounters unlikely while they were going about chores around the yard.

As summarized in Table 8.1, Pak Yusuf also symmetrically exchanged KJ with Pak Taufik (aged 60). Although Pak Yusuf only lived sixty meters down the road from Pak Taufik, nevertheless I never saw or heard of Pak Taufik interacting with Pak Yusuf on a regular or any other basis. Like Pak Joko and Pak Pujianto, Pak Taufik had little time to interact with his neighbors.

However, this was more a result of his strong religious conviction (Pak Taufik was a Muslim) and work commitments than avoidance due to other reasons. As noted previously, although Pak Taufik was retired, he still worked as a lecturer in a number of private universities around Semarang. This kept him busy from around 7 a.m. until 3 p.m. Outside of work hours, most of his spare time was spent in religious activities, including those associated with the local mosque.

As he noted, although one's time and place of death are Allah's secret, and one should prepare for death by carrying out Allah's wishes from an early age, nevertheless the likelihood of death does increase with age, particularly once you are in your 60s and suffering from heart problems. Due to this, Pak Taufik spent much of his time doing things that would help accumulate *amal* "good points" (as against the bad points he has received for his *dosa* "sins") that would count in his favor when it was his time to pass on. These good deeds that he carried out included increasing worship by frequenting the mosque precisely at the time or before the call to prayer. At the nearby mosque, Pak Taufik would pray and regularly lead fellow Moslems in prayer, that is, be the *Imam*. He also frequently attended weekly *pengajian* held on Thursday nights (these were not usually attended by other members from this ward), and he attended any Islamic celebrations that occurred in the neighborhood. Pak Taufik's wife noted that he would also often read the *Al-Qur'an* for long periods of time leading up to the dusk prayer and would frequently pray in the middle of the night.

In addition to this, Pak Taufik also did a lot of voluntary work at the mosque, and was in fact the head of the committee of mosque trustees. His duties included organizing the collection of donations, the organization of celebrations, the distribution of *zakat* and *fitra*,[1] and the slaughter and distribution of goats and cattle at *Idul Adha*, which falls on the tenth day after Muslims make the pilgrimage to Mekah. He also assisted in the running of the afternoon Islamic school held at the mosque. Hence, although he attended just about every ward meeting and arranged ward activity during my stay, outside of these activities he had little time to spend in interaction with neighbors.

Thus far, we can see a picture of infrequent interaction among the male members of this ward who used KJ, despite some either having time to interact if they wished, or even living next door. This same situation was most often the case with the other male Javanese heads of household who exchanged KJ. For example, Pak Naryono (aged 41) frequently worked overtime, often until 7 or 8 p.m., and hence had no time to socialize with neighbors. In fact, his front gate and front door were often shut by 7.30 p.m., giving the message to anyone who wanted to visit to come back another time. Pak Tri (aged 45), Pak Giono (aged 45), Pak Dono (aged 40), Pak Yulianto (aged 40), and Pak Sumaryono (aged 45) also had similar working hours, with Pak Sumaryono and Pak Yulianto often working away from Semarang for months at a time. This also meant that

they rarely if ever socialized with other members of the ward. Although Pak Tri and Pak Yudianto worked in Semarang, nevertheless they rarely attended ward meetings and activities.

In contrast to the males who infrequently socialized, the two pairs who exchanged NJ – Pak Yudianto (aged 44) and Pak Nurholis (aged 34), and Pak Yudianto and Pak Dono – did tend toward more frequent interactions. For example, Pak Yudianto and Pak Nurholis frequently socialized in the afternoons and in the latter stages of this research they in fact started to run a daytime business together. Pak Yudianto and Pak Dono also interacted a number times a week when they, plus some of the youth from this Ward, members of Ward 5, and I played badminton in the evenings. Before moving onto inter-ethnic patterns, I should also note that in my earlier study (Goebel, 2000) I carried out a detailed study of status (defined by participants in terms of education, occupation, income levels, material possessions, royal background) and age differences of participants and concluded that there was no evidence that these figured in patterns of linguistic sign exchange.

Having briefly looked at patterns of linguistic sign exchange and histories of interaction among those who reported being Javanese, in the rest of this section I will focus on interactions amongst these members and those who reported being non-Javanese. I start by looking at patterns of sign exchange, which are represented in Table 8.2. This table is another half-matrix. The parts of the half-matrix that involve only Javanese males (the right halves) have been "cut off" because that would simply repeat information already given in Table 8.1. Note that the use of a question mark in this table indicates that I have no data on a pair's linguistic sign choice. Some of the reasons for this have been discussed in Chapter 3 – that is, non-attendance at ward meetings and infrequent interaction with neighbors – and I will further discuss this below. As can be seen in this table, there is a clear tendency for the non-Javanese male heads of household to habitually exchange Indonesian (I) in inter-ethnic interactions and this is perhaps not surprising, since many were not competent in Javanese. There were only two exceptions, Pak Adi* and myself. Pak Adi* habitually exchanged KJ with Pak Joko and NJ with Pak Nurholis.

As with the Javanese members of this ward, here I will explore the relationship of the linguistic sign exchanges noted in Table 8.2 with recourse to ethnographic information about participants' histories of interaction. Although Pak Feizel* (aged 45) lives in Semarang, he works in Klaten and commutes back and forth every day, six days a week. This translates to around a two-hour drive in each direction, which has him leaving for work at around 6 a.m. and arriving home at around 5 p.m. After arriving home he would often spend the time between then and dusk attending to matters that relate to his business venture. For example, he could often be seen repairing his business's aging vehicle in the late afternoon or on Sundays. As devout Muslims, he and his

Table 8.2 *Habitual exchanges among non-Javanese and Javanese males*

Abdurrahman*						
I	Feizel*					
I	I	Adi*				
I	I	I	Zainudin*			
I	I	I	I	Manurung*		
I	I	I	I	I	Tobing*	
I	I	I	I	I	I	Naryono
I	I	I	I	I	?	Pujianto
I	I	I	I	?	I	Taufik
I	I	I	I	I	I	Yusuf
I	I	KJ	I	I	KJ	Joko
I	I	?	I	?	?	Mardiono
I	I	I	nj	I	I	Dono
I	I	I	I	I	I	Giono
I	I	I	I	?	?	Tri
I	I	I	I	I	I	Yudianto
I	I	?	I	?	?	Yulianto
I	I	nj	I	?	?	Nurholis

wife would also spend much of their time in the evening after *Maghrib* (the dusk prayer) reciting verses from the *Al-Qur'an* before retiring.

Of course, he did have some spare time for socializing on Friday afternoons when he returned home early from work, or on Sundays, but this was usually spent with his family or relatives rather than with neighbors. For example, on Sundays they would sometimes go somewhere for a picnic. On other occasions, this would include relatives, and would be arranged during a monthly gathering attended by his family's relatives, who were now also living in Semarang. We might say that Pak Feizel's busy schedule left him very tired and with little time to interact with other members of Ward 8. In fact, he often noted this apologetically in ward meetings. He did, however, regularly attend such meetings (although not every one), religious celebrations like *Halal Bihalal* and *Natalan*, and the Independence Day celebrations. He also regularly participated in the preparations for these events. However, apart from these occasions, Pak Feizel* did not interact with other male heads of households or other members of this ward. We can also say that this infrequent interaction was also a result of his good financial position and in general that of the other members of this ward. As I noted in Chapter 3, members paid others to do maintenance work

in the ward and to guard the ward instead of participating in working bees or doing guard duty. Thus, there were few ward contexts, formal or otherwise, that required the participation of ward members. In summary, although Pak Feizel* was considered a good member of Ward 8, due to his frequent participation in the ward activities mentioned above, this interaction might add up to an encounter with a ward member once a week at the most.

Pak Abdurrahman* (aged 61) also rarely interacted with other members of Ward 8. As with Pak Feizel*, Pak Abdurrahman* regularly attended ward meetings, religious celebrations such as *Halal Bihalal* and *Natalan*, and the Independence Day celebrations. He also regularly participated in the preparations for these events. However, apart from these occasions, Pak Abdurrahman* did not interact with other male heads of households or other members of this ward. As a pensioner, one might expect that he had a lot of time on his hands for interaction with neighbors. In some respects he did, and he could sometimes be found sitting on his porch with his wife in the afternoons after 4 p.m. The problem, of course, was that at this time of day, nobody from this ward had returned home from work and hence he had no one else to interact with, apart from his wife and children. During the rest of the day and night, he spent most of his time either in his house or at the mosque. This was because his age and his bad health (which included chronic asthma, a bad heart, and high blood pressure) meant that he needed to spend more time sleeping or resting. More importantly, however, was that he spent much of his time carrying out religious activities in preparation for his death (similar in many respects to Pak Taufik).

This included praying at the Mosque with others whenever his health allowed. It also included carrying out extra non-obligatory religious activities (*sunah*), such as reading from the *Al-Qur'an* and additional prayers (*sholat sunah*) outside of the five compulsory prayers. As he explained, these *sholat sunah* were often carried out between 1 a.m. and 3 a.m., and this, at least according to his wife, was why he regularly slept through much of the day. Pak Abdurrahman* and his family also moved frequently between provinces and this also played a part in their choice of using Indonesian in interaction. That is to say, seeing they were going to move to Jakarta in the near future, they did not see much point in learning to use locally emerging varieties of Javanese.

Pak Tobing* and Pak Manurung* (aged 58) interacted even less with their neighbors than Pak Abdurrahman* and Pak Feizel*. They very rarely participated in the few formally organized ward activities, and they never socialized with their neighbors outside of these activities. For Pak Tobing* this was perhaps a more conscious choice, since although he did work long hours (returning at dusk) he did have the opportunity to interact in the evenings. For example, he could have attended ward meetings, but chose not to. He also had Saturday afternoons and Sundays off, but would often spend this time organizing the building of a new house in another area of Semarang. For Pak Manurung* it

was even more difficult to regularly interact with his Javanese neighbors, since he in fact worked in Kalimantan and only returned home with his wife every few months (his four children minded their house). During my stay he did have stints at home of over a month, but nevertheless never used the opportunity to attend ward functions or socialize with his neighbors, preferring to spend the time with his friends and relatives who were also from Sumatra. As a Christian, he also kept a couple of dogs, which made it difficult for his Muslim neighbors to visit him should they wish.

It would appear that the males who almost never interacted with their Javanese counterparts also had no choice as to which medium they used (i.e. just signs stereotypically associated with Indonesian). To put this another way, we might say that since they never interacted with their Javanese counterparts, it is perhaps not surprising that they never learned Javanese, which would have then given them a choice of mediums in inter-ethnic interactions.

Turning now to those non-Javanese who did in fact have a choice as to which medium they used, there were two non-Javanese male heads of household who interacted a little bit more frequently with their Javanese neighbors. For example, apart from regularly attending ward meetings, Pak Adi* (aged 20) also participated in other ward events, such as the sporting competitions held in the lead up to Independence Day celebrations. Pak Adi* also worked shorter hours than the other male heads of households in this ward. As a live-in salesperson he also spent much of his spare time either socializing with the Javanese store persons who also lived at the business premises located beside our house, or with his next-door neighbor, Pak Nurholis, who also liked to chat in the afternoons after he had finished work. As noted previously, he exchanged NJ with these people. In contrast, he exchanged Indonesian with the other male non-Javanese heads of households, who he rarely interacted with outside of formal ward events.

For my part, I also had many opportunities to interact with the Javanese male heads of households, at least within the parameters set out in Chapter 3. For my efforts I was sometimes spoken to in Javanese (usually NJ), and in fact the more frequently I was a participant (mostly as a ratified bystander) in conversation where the other participants were Javanese, the more often conversation was held in Javanese (either NJ or KJ, depending on who was speaking to whom). Hence as in the case of Pak Adi*, we might also suggest that my frequent interaction with Javanese led to linguistic signs associated with Javanese being used to me and around me rather than those associated with Indonesian. My interactions with Pak Dono, who was of higher status and thirteen years older than me, also support this observation. For example, in initial interactions we exchanged Indonesian, but as avid players of badminton we began to regularly interact in the evenings. With each subsequent interaction, Pak Dono used more NJ forms with me, and for that matter with the other non-Javanese present.

These were mainly Mas Zainal*, Pak Feizels' son, and members from Ward 5, some of whom we will meet shortly.

8.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have continued to look at the nexus between signs from different spatial-temporal settings and how they figure in the social identification of not only non-present others, but those doing this identification. I explored the interdiscursive relationships between signs from perduring **SRs** and their local recontextualizations. For example, I looked at how signs and categories linked to a perduring **SR** – associated with Chineseness – were appropriated and oriented to in short time-frames (e.g. speech events within the January meeting) and longer spans of interaction (e.g. between the speech situations represented by the December 1996 and January 1997 meetings).

Following my practice established from Chapter 6 onward, I pointed out how such recontextualizations related to local circumstances, while also fleshing out the local meaning of such recontextualizations. For example, I noted that in socially identifying someone's behavior as not appropriate, through stories and talk about others in these meetings, participants temporally co-constructed what is considered as normal, appropriate, and moral behavior within this ward. While such insights are not new, we can say that categories of personhood and complaints about others are sometimes built up across speech situations in a way that goes outside the bounded speech events that are often the focus of other studies (e.g. Mandelbaum, 1993; Drew, 1998; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Stokoe, 2003).

Part of my empirical focus in this chapter was an area that has hitherto relied upon historical scholarship, which has assumed rather than demonstrated that links exist between perduring signs about Chineseness in Indonesia and their uptake in local spaces. I did this by examining the nexus between three different types of data. The first was my reinterpretation of historical work on Indonesian-Chinese, which was done through the lens of scholarship on **semiotic register** formation in Section 2.5. The second was ethnographic data gathered during my fieldwork in this ward. This work helped us understand processes of **social identification** by relating talk to local events, conditions, and persons. For example, in Extract 8.8 the solidifying nature of morality might have gone under-analyzed without knowing who Pak Sunardi was (including his economic situation) and the history of financial challenges in this ward. The third data set was recordings of interactions that occurred in regular monthly meetings in this ward, also gathered during this fieldwork.

In my analysis of these data I have explored relationships between local circumstances and perduring signs, arguing that as such signs are recontextualized in interaction they gain new local meanings and become resources

for future **social identification** projects. For example, a perduring category of personhood, such as "trader," was recontextualized in the December meeting through its association with perceptions about deviance. These perceptions were grounded in the situated social practices of attendance, payment and donating. Talk about these activities resulted in emergent **SRs**, which had within their constellation of signs these activities along with categories of personhood, such as "attender of meetings," "payer of dues," "donors," "wealthy folk", and their opposites. These new categories of personhood then became primary resources for the social identification of Pak Kris** in the January meeting. As all of these categories from the December meeting were recontextualized, they were also linked together in way that figured in the eventual explicit ethnicization of Pak Kris**. While this explicit ethnicization occurred during a time when the New Order regime increasingly authorized public anti-Chinese sentiment, I was still rather cautious in reading such sentiment into any particular instance of sign usage. Instead, I tried to emphasize how a stream of signs and co-occurring events all figured in the eventual public and explicit ethnicization of Pak Kris** as Chinese and deviant.

In doing so, I also highlighted how this process figured in the formation of two locally emerging semiotic registers represented by Diagrams 8.2 and 8.3. As I argued, **Locally Emerging Semiotic Register 5** (**LESR5**) was a result of the conversational activities and the positioning that went on in these two meetings. One of the interesting things about **LESR5** was the contrast it offered in terms of linguistic sign usage among the adult male heads of household and their female counterparts. For example, one striking difference was medium choice in inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic interactions where *krámá* Javanese (KJ) was the most common sign exchanged between Javanese males and Indonesian was the most common sign exchanged inter-ethnically. In contrast, their female counterparts tended to exchange *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) both inter-ethnically and intra-ethnically.

While this observation invites a reading of gender-based differences, in the next chapter I bring such a reading into question. I do this by looking at the interactional practices in Ward 5 which, as pointed out in Chapter 3, is a low-income ward with members participating in ward life and practices in very different ways to that found in middle-income Ward 8. In this chapter I also pointed out that status and age did not seem to figure in patterns of linguistic sign exchange amongst the Javanese, with exchanges being symmetrical rather than asymmetrical (see Diagram 4.1). While this resonates with Errington's (1985) earlier findings on changes in linguistic sign exchange in Java, we can also add to his explanation of why this might be the case.

For example, his work suggests quite general reasons, such as increases in access to education and to public service employment for a small group of nobility in Solo. Here we have suggested that the diverse backgrounds

of Javanese members along with their **trajectories of socialization** within this ward have necessitated the development of new and perhaps temporary **semiotic registers**. Indeed, considering the discussion in Chapter 6, we would expect such **SRs** to wax and wane as newcomers become old-timers and as old-timers leave the ward. In a sense, what we see in this ward resembles koineization of linguistic signs. Even so, there are two points which caution me from continuing to draw upon work in this area. On the one hand, the unique setting where Indonesian is supposedly the appropriate language for migrants differs from the language contact settings discussed in work on koineization (e.g. Kerswill, 2002). On the other hand, my methods for looking at this process have been quite different from those used in these types of studies and in variationist studies more generally (e.g. Bailey, 2002).

9 Language Ideologies and Practice in Ward 5

9.0 Introduction

A common thread in work on processes of **semiotic register** formation, **enregisterment**, and language ideology is that generally there is an imagined standard of linguistic conduct, which through various processes becomes tied to particular personas across time and space. As Inoue (2006), Agha (2003), and Errington (1998a, 2001), among others, have nicely pointed out, it is often an educated elite – whether university professors, religious leaders, bureaucrats, et cetera – who initiate such imaginings, and schools that help reify these language ideologies. Much of my discussion in Chapter 2 was devoted to this area as it relates to inter-ethnic relations and ethnicity, ethnic languages and Chineseness. In this chapter I want to sharpen my focus on two of these areas. The first relates to language ideologies about the use of Javanese intra-ethnically and the second relates to language ideologies about inter-ethnic interaction in Indonesia. In addressing these two issues I have two main aims. The first is to point to the differences between these language ideologies and situated practice. In line with the broader question that this book seeks to address, my second aim is to further explore how people go about establishing and maintaining social relations in settings characterized by diversity and transience.

Before doing so, however, I should start by pointing out what I mean by **language ideology**. Drawing upon the broad thrust of work on language ideologies and **semiosis** (e.g. Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998; Agha, 2007; Kroskrity, 2000; Agha, 2005), the way I will use the term **language ideology** here is as follows. By **language ideology** I mean a particular **semiotic register** that has been authorized by public institutions through a chain of **semiotic encounters** across time and space, becoming reified to the extent that those involved in its reproduction see it as the way things are and should be. In other words, for those involved in this process of language ideology formation, often this process is not noticeable and is natural in a Bourdieuan sense. For others, who are not part of this process, but who recognize the signs associated with such a **semiotic register** (through contrasts with other **semiotic registers**), they may see it as something to emulate, scorn or change.

One of the noticeable patterns of habitual linguistic sign exchange in Ward 8 was the use of Indonesian inter-ethnically among most males as compared with the exchange of forms stereotypically associated with *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) amongst females. This usage of NJ inter-ethically contrasts markedly with the imagined or hoped for exchanges of Indonesian (e.g. Alisjahbana, 1976; Anwar, 1980; Abas, 1987; Dardjowidjojo, 1998), which have reached ideological status by way of the Indonesian constitution, language policy and school curriculum (e.g. Section 2.3).

Another distinct pattern was the symmetrical exchange of *krámá* Javanese (KJ) forms intra-ethnically amongst the males as against NJ forms amongst the females. These findings are very much at odds with other ideologies about language use discussed in Chapter 2. In particular, symmetrical exchanges of Javanese amongst those reporting to be Javanese seemed to be at odds with the type of asymmetrical exchanges found in school textbooks (e.g. Section 2.3). I hastened to add that such contrasts may not be indicative of gender differences. Indeed, there was evidence presented in Chapters 6 and 8 that suggests that movement to NJ both inter-ethnically and intra-ethnically was an outcome of habitual interaction rather than anything to do specifically with gender. In this chapter I will provide more evidence for this argument while continuing to hold that each of the groups I look(ed) at represent **communities of practice** with their own emerging **semiotic register(s)**.

These patterns of exchange were also quite common in Ward 5, which was located just fifty meters away from the main road of Ward 8. In Sections 9.1 and 9.2 I focus upon interactions amongst those who report being Javanese. I point out that categories of personhood relating to age and status do not figure at all in these patterns of exchange. This highlights a gap between language ideologies relating to asymmetrical exchanges, such as those found in school texts described in Section 2.3, and actual practice. In accounting for such differences, I draw upon my discussion in Chapter 3 to argue that participants' **trajectories of socialization** within this ward appear to figure in their patterns of linguistic sign exchange.

In the case of inter-ethnic relations in Ward 5, Sections 9.2 and 9.3 show that **language ideologies** relating Indonesian to the "Other" appear to hold. On the other hand, I note that ideologies about **LOTI** (in this case *ngoko* Javanese) and its indexical relationships with ethnicity have been recontextualized to do intimacy identity work, through participants' engagement in the practice of **adequation**. In concluding, I point out that, as with intra-ethnic interaction in this ward, participants' **trajectories of socialization** also appear to figure in their patterns of linguistic sign exchange. In doing so, I note that the case of Javanese usage in interactions where neither of the participants were Javanese strengthens my argument laid out in Chapters 5 and 6 relating to doing togetherness in difference. In particular, it shows that in this ward at least, being

initially linguistically different gives way to sameness as participants jointly engage in mutual endeavors. In this sense, engaging in these endeavors enables participants to learn linguistic and other signs which simultaneously become indexical of their histories of interaction. In other words, participants become part of an emerging **semiotic register**.

Before looking in detail at this ward I should point out that I won't focus specifically on ward meetings in Ward 5. This is so because after making my first recording of a ward meeting in January 1997 I found that there was actually little talk among the large number of participants. Instead, what I found was that talk was primarily public orations about ward savings and loans levels, planned activities and so on, without any of the private talk found in Ward 8 meetings. There was also a core of people who spoke, including the head of the ward, the secretary of the ward, the treasurer and then four others who reported on ward co-operative savings and loans, the monthly lottery, sports, and infrastructure. Of these, the head of ward took up most time, with his initial address lasting thirteen minutes. Even so, in the period from April 1996 to July 1998 I spent more than half of my time observing, interviewing and interacting with members of this ward during the day and evening. From a range of re-occurring settings that I participated in and observed I chose to record just one card game that occurred in December 1997.

9.1 Intra-ethnic talk in a card game

In this section I want to briefly look at one speech situation where *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) was symmetrically exchanged. My broader aim is to look at the differences in status and age among participants, to flesh out whether and to what extent these categories of personhood figure in this talk.

Extract 9.1 below represents an interaction between Pak Madi and Pak Liman. This interaction occurred during one of the card games that took place in the mid-afternoon to dusk period in Ward 5 (see Chapter 3). This particular card game occurred in the guestroom of Pak Abdul's house. There were four players and five other participants involved in this speech situation. Of the four players, three are Javanese, that is, Pak Liman, Pak Madi, and Mas Budi, and the fourth player, Pak Abdul*, is a non-Javanese. The players were sitting in a circle with the other participants situated roughly between them, as can be seen in Diagram 9.1. Four of the participants are non-Javanese. They included Pak Abdul*, Mas Putu*, Pak Sudi* and myself. This conversation occurred near the end of the tape and just after the end of a hand and the end of a game, with Pak Liman having lost for the third time during the afternoon's card session.

The above interaction between Pak Liman and Pak Madi is characterized mainly by the exchange of NJ (in **bold**) with the exceptions of some ambiguous forms in **bold italics** (e.g. ***buang*** "to throw s.t. away," ***terus*** "continually," ***aku***

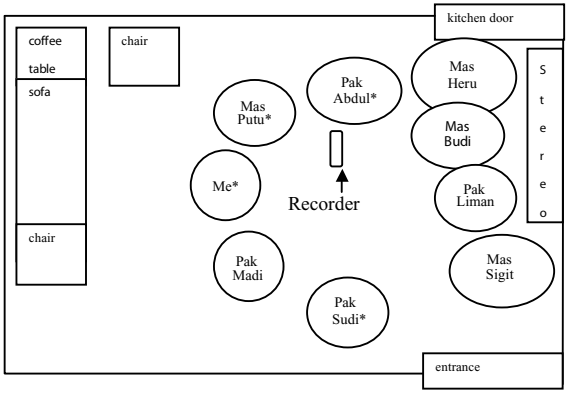

Diagram 9.1 A card game in a neighbor's house

Extract 9.1 Age, status and *ngoko* Javanese usage

Pak Madi		
1	{ ***nah loh* wis murni *nah loh***'	***Nah*** [look at your cards now] **it's already a complete set** [with the joker I have given you] ***hey***.
Pak Liman		
2	{ **ra iso *aku* wis kabeh kih** *#ok#* .	***I* couldn't** [get more points] **none**
3	**kowé anggep** . **kalahé mbari *joker***	**of these were any good**. **You**
4	***terus*** . **arep *buang aku* ra iso** =	**think I have lost all the time because I didn't have *the joker***, [but in fact] **it was because *I* couldn't *throw* out when *I* wanted to**.
Pak Madi		
5	=	
6	he e: e: =	Laughs.
Pak Liman		
7	= ***tetep* ora iso *toh*** pak	***Still* can't** [throw out the cards I
8	***#tetep*** pakai# (.4)	wanted to] ***hey*** Mr.[Madi], [since the ones I needed] ***were still*** in use.

"I") and one Indonesian token in line 8 (plain font). Because these tokens appear in the same intonation unit I will classify such usage as **sign alternation as the medium**. Of note here is their use of the first person pronoun *aku* and the second person address forms *kowé*, *mu* and *pak*. Apart from the regular exchange of *pak* "Mr./you" the use of these personal reference forms contrasts significantly with the non-use of these forms in most interactions among the Javanese males of Ward 8, who used the KJ form *kulo* "I/me" to refer to themselves and almost exclusively used either *Pak* or *Pak* plus name to refer to their interlocutor.

The symmetrical exchange of NJ and the personal reference form usage suggests that categories of personhood relating to status and age don't figure in this interaction. I should note that both participants also knew and used KJ and Indonesian in other contexts and thus NJ exchange here was not due to a lack of ability in KJ. Indeed, NJ exchanges are common between these two participants throughout this card game and elsewhere despite Pak Sajiman being twenty years older than Pak Madi (aged 36). Weighing up relative status was much less straight forward. For example, Pak Madi was university-educated with a degree in law, while Pak Sajiman had only completed primary school. Although Pak Sajiman was a retired chauffeur, his government pension put him in a better position (materially and in terms of income level) than Pak Madi, who was marginally employed doing casual *pro bono* legal work.

There were many other instances of symmetrical NJ usage in this card game and within this ward more generally. The following extracts provide a couple more examples of this. Extract 9.2 represents some exchanges between Pak Liman and Mas Budi that occurred in the same card game. The interaction occurs about ten minutes into the recording and just before the end of a hand where Mas Budi is teasingly asking Pak Liman whether he needs a card that Mas Budi has just taken off the stack.

Extract 9.2 Age, status and terms of self-reference and second person address

Mas Budi		
1	+**iki ra**+ (.5)	[You need] **this** [card or] **not**?
Pak Liman		
2	+ **kowé opo**+ . **ojo njagaké *aku***:'	**What are you** [doing] **don't keep**
	=	**an eye on me**.
Mas Budi		
3		
4	= hehehehe hehehe	Laughs.
And a few seconds later		
Pak Liman		
5	***heran heran***' (1.1)	***Unbelievable***, ***unbelievable***.
Mas Budi		
6	***rokokmu* enthek *loh* mbah'** (.4)	***Your smokes* are finished gramps**.
Pak Liman		
7	***heeh* pancen enthek *ok*'** (1.3)	**Yes**, **all finished *eh***.
Mas Budi		
8	**marahi mumet ra dianggo *ok*** .	[Your smokes?] **cause a headache**
9	***percumah* mumet *ok***'	[rather than making you calm?],
		[the smokes?] **weren't useful *heh***,
		no point* having a headache *heh.

In the above interaction both participants exchange utterances which are primarily in NJ. They also regularly exchanged NJ in other contexts that I observed.

As with the previous interaction, these two participants also engage here and elsewhere in symmetrical exchange of *aku* "I" (line 2) for self-reference and *kowé* (line 2) and *mu* (line 6) "you" despite Mas Budi being 36 years younger than Pak Liman (aged 56 years). Mas Budi also regularly addressed Pak Liman as *Mbah* "Grandfather" (e.g. line 6). While this term can be read as indicating respect toward the addressee, Mas Budi's use of *mu* here and *mu* and *kowé* elsewhere seems to make such a reading rather ambiguous. Thus, categories of personhood relating to age do not seem to be particularly relevant to participants in this interaction. The extent to which we can establish whether status might be relevant is hindered by the complex backgrounds of each participant, as was the case for participants in Extract 9.1.

For example, because Mas Budi is the son of the wealthiest person in the ward (Pak Sudomo, who is also the ward head) we might argue that Mas Budi is of higher status than Pak Liman. Of course, this makes the task of determining whether status and age figure in linguistic sign exchange much harder since Mas Budi's higher status may be offset by Pak Liman's seniority. For example, this might mean that they are essentially equals. However, some members of this ward also maintained that youth, such as Mas Budi, had no status and thus Pak Liman would be the higher-status person. That there are KJ and Indonesian equivalents for most of the NJ forms used here, and that Mas Budi knew them, also suggests that NJ exchange was not due to an inability to use these other forms.

Looking at another context during this card game involving Mas Budi, Extract 9.3 has him now interacting with Pak Madi. This interaction occurred around ten minutes into the recording and is preceded by Pak Abdul* teasing Pak Madi by asking Pak Madi if the cards Pak Abdul* is throwing out are the ones Pak Madi needs.

Extract 9.3 Age, status, and terms of address 2

Mas Budi		
1	#o ***joker ok iya***# hahaha { ha	Oh ***the Joker hey***, ***yeah***, laughs.
Pak Madi		
2	{ **kowé**	**You just picked up** [the
3	**mau wis njipuk *toh*** ? =	Joker] ***didn't you***?
Mas Budi		
4	= e::::h	E::::h, **not yet**, ***hey really***.
5	**durung *toh ya***::' =	
Pak Madi		
6	= oh ***ya***'(.9)	Oh ***yeah*** [is that right]?
Mas Budi		
7	***iya***::' (.9)	***Yeah***.

As can be seen in Extract 9.3, both Pak Madi and Mas Budi use NJ. They also exchange NJ in other interactions during this speech situation and in other

settings in this ward. Similarly to the previous interactions, they also frequently exchange *aku* "I" for self-reference and *kowé* "you," despite Mas Budi being sixteen years younger than Pak Madi. Looking at the participants' relative status, we encounter problems similar to those in the previous extracts. For example, while Mas Budi is much younger, he is perhaps of higher status (if Mas Budi's father's status is taken into account), or of lower status if youth were not accorded any status.

The discussion thus far provides little evidence that categories of personhood relating to age or status figured in the exchanges among participants in this card game or elsewhere. Moreover, participants oriented to each others' sign exchanges and made no comment here or in other settings about inappropriate sign usage. This also suggests that such usage was not noticed by participants and was thus also habitual. In the following section I will discuss some symmetrical exchanges of KJ, while exploring possible reasons for these sign choices.

9.2 Habitual intra-ethnic linguistic sign exchanges and local histories

In this section I summarize my observations of linguistic sign usage among the members of Ward 5 who reported being Javanese, before then accounting for such usage by looking at participant backgrounds and their **trajectories of socialization**. I regularly observed around twenty of the thirty-eight adult Javanese males living in this ward. I found that with the exception of the participants discussed in the previous section, most members exchanged *krámá* Javanese (KJ), as was the case in Ward 8. As with previous chapters, I also should remind the reader that this data needs to be viewed as *indicative* of habitual patterns of linguistic sign exchange, since my observations of sign exchange did not differentiate between the types of linguistic patterns associated with different participant footings and different conversational activities (e.g. Chapters 5 to 8). As with previous chapters I use a half-matrix to represent intra-ethnic sign exchanges (Table 9.1). While I use the same conventions as used in the previous chapters, I have affixed an "M" (short for *Mas* "older brother") to many participants' names to indicate that they are unmarried and not usually heads of household. After some instances of NJ usage I have also included "(s)," which means that the person with M plus name is the son of the other participant.

To briefly comment on this table, we can see that Pak Sudomo, Pak Surono, Pak Subagio, Pak Joni, Pak Yon, Pak Tikno, and Pak Akbar exchanged KJ with everyone except for their sons. Pak Liman and Pak Madi exchanged KJ with everyone except for Mas Budi and Mas Heru, and they also used NJ in interactions between themselves. Mas Yono and Mas Jono exchanged KJ with everyone except when interacting with Mas Budi, Mas Heru, Mas Pras, Mas

Table 9.1 *Habitual exchanges among the male Javanese of Ward 5*

Liman															
nj	Madi														
nj	nj	M Budi													
nj	nj	nj	M Heru												
nj	**KJ**	nj	nj	M Pras											
KJ	**KJ**	nj	nj	nj	M Sigit										
KJ	**KJ**	nj (s)	**KJ**	nj (s)	nj (s)	Sudomo									
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj (s)	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Surono								
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Subagio							
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Joni						
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Subroto					
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Yon				
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Tikno			
KJ	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	Akbar		
KJ	**KJ**	nj	nj	nj	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	M Sis	
KJ	**KJ**	nj	nj	nj	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj	M Yono
KJ	**KJ**	nj	nj	nj	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj	**KJ**	**KJ**	**KJ**	nj	nj	M Jono

Sigit, Mas Sis, and Pak Subroto. Mas Budi exchanged KJ with everyone except Pak Liman, Pak Madi, Pak Sudomo (his father), Mas Heru, Mas Pras (his older brother), Mas Sigit (his older brother), Mas Sis, Mas Yono, and Mas Jono. Mas Heru exchanged KJ with everyone except Pak Liman, Pak Madi, Pak Subroto, Pak Surono (his father), Mas Budi, Mas Pras, Mas Sigit, Mas Jono and Mas Yono.

Section 9.1 demonstrated that categories of personhood relating to status and age did not seem to figure in interaction among a number of participant constellations. In the rest of this section I want to first show that the same seems to be true of the symmetric KJ exchange represented in Table 9.1, before then going on to consider why some pairs of participants used NJ and others KJ. Interactions with the highest status person in this ward, Pak Sudomo, were characterized by symmetrical exchanges of KJ. This is easily seen by dividing his interlocutors into two groups: those who are younger than he is, and those who are of similar age (Pak Sudomo is 52 years old).

The first group consists of Pak Madi (aged 36), Pak Subroto (aged 40), Pak Tikno (aged 38), Pak Akbar (aged 39), Pak Yon (age 40) and Pak Joni (aged 33). The second group is made up of Pak Liman (aged 56), Pak Subagio (aged 50) and Pak Surono (aged 57). We can say that for those in the first

group, age as a category of personhood doesn't appear to figure in linguistic sign exchanges. Moreover, the types of signs associated with "higher status" personhood also don't figure in linguistic sign exchange. For example, Pak Sudomo is much wealthier, of similar education, and of higher occupational status than others in this group. This is also the case for the second group, who are older than Pak Sudomo.

Table 9.1 also shows us that Pak Subroto exchanged KJ in interactions with Pak Joni, who was both younger and of lower status than Pak Subroto. Hence, for this pair we can also suggest that these two categories of personhood don't figure in linguistic sign exchange. Pak Subroto also exchanged KJ with Javanese of similar age including Pak Madi, Pak Tikno, Pak Akbar and Pak Yon. All of these people were of lower-status personhood than Pak Subroto and this suggests that this category of personhood does not figure in linguistic sign exchanges among these people.

To make a few more comparisons we can also consider Pak Akbar and Pak Yon and their interactions with age mates, such as Pak Tikno and Pak Madi. As noted in Table 9.1, these participants also symmetrically exchanged KJ. Moreover, Pak Akbar and Pak Yon were both considered by others as of higher status than Pak Tikno and Pak Madi. In summary, there is no evidence that suggests that categories of personhood relating to age and status figured in linguistic sign exchanges in interactions amongst the Javanese males of this ward.

When trying to establish why some pairs preferred NJ and others KJ, we can explore participants' **trajectories of socialization** within this ward. The rest of this section will take up this issue by looking at whether, to what extent and why these members interacted during the course of their daily social life. Looking first at the daily routines of the speakers who used NJ in their interactions – that is, Pak Liman, Pak Madi, Pak Subroto, Mas Budi, Mas Pras, Mas Heru, Mas Jono, Mas Yono and Mas Sis – I note that only Pak Subroto and Pak Madi were employed. Pak Liman was a pensioner; Mas Heru and Mas Sis were unemployed; and Mas Budi, Mas Pras, Mas Jono, and Mas Yono were university students. For Pak Liman, the early part of the day, that is, until about 10 or 11 a.m., was taken up snoozing on his couch at home, especially if he had played cards till around 11 p.m. or midnight the night before. After getting up he would often go to see what Pak Abdul* (a non-Javanese) was doing, or go and play billiards with his other retired workmates until midday.

Following this, he would again frequently link up with Pak Abdul*, Mas Heru, and a number of students, such as Mas Budi and his two older brothers (Mas Pras and Mas Sigit), who by then had returned home from university classes. As noted in Chapter 3, this time of day often meant a game of cards or marbles until about 5 p.m. During this time others, like Pak Madi, would arrive from work at around 1 or 2 p.m. and join in or watch. After about 7 p.m.

this group would then again get together at either Pak Abdul's house or at the guard post and again play cards or chess until around 11 p.m. midnight. At this time, these people would sometimes be joined by Pak Subroto, Pak Tikno, Pak Subagio, and Pak Sudomo, although Pak Subroto, Pak Tikno, Pak Subagio and Pak Sudomo would rarely stay on after 9 p.m. since they had to work the next day.

What we can see from this brief discussion is that Pak Liman interacted on a daily basis for long periods of time with other Javanese-speakers like Pak Madi, Mas Budi, and Mas Heru. As noted in previous sections, he exchanged NJ with all of these speakers. With other Javanese, such as Pak Subroto, Pak Tikno, and Pak Sudomo, his interactions were not as frequent, nor as long, and as noted above, they were mainly for brief periods in the evenings and were characterized by the symmetrical exchange of KJ.

The main reason that Pak Sudomo did not interact frequently with other Javanese such as Pak Liman was that he worked long hours. This was also the case for Pak Subagio to some extent, although the situation of his house, which was located on the corner of two lanes, meant that he was also often considered a member of another ward. Thus, in addition to the formal ward activities that he attended he also had some of these same responsibilities in this other ward. As one might expect, this also took up some of his spare time that could have been used to socialize with members of Ward 5.

On the other hand, although Pak Tikno and Pak Subroto did not have the same responsibilities as Pak Subagio and Pak Sudomo, nevertheless their work situation made it difficult to interact on a regular basis with other members of the ward. The main reason for this was that they were shift-workers, and so they often were sleeping or working when many of the activities discussed above were going on. As highlighted in Table 9.1, these four people generally exchanged KJ with their Javanese neighbors, the only exception being Pak Subroto's interactions with Mas Heru, Mas Jono and Mas Yono. If we look closer at these four people's interaction patterns and in particular their hobbies, we find that they were lovers of volleyball. In the dry season, and in fact in the afternoons that it didn't rain during the wet season, these four could often be found playing volleyball together on workdays and weekends. In fact, when working day-shift, it was often Pak Subroto who would rally up the youth of the ward to play after 4 p.m. Hence, here we can say that these four interacted on a regular and often daily basis in comparison with Pak Subroto's interactions with the other members, with whom he exchanged KJ.

Pak Surono and Pak Akbar also used KJ in their interactions, even though they had lived next-door to each other for the last seven years. These two members rarely interacted either with one another or with other members of this ward. This, however, was not due to a problem between them or them and other members, but due to other reasons associated with work and religious

conviction. For example, Pak Surono worked from 9 p.m. until 5 a.m. as a security guard. Hence, like Pak Subroto and Pak Tikno, he was either sleeping or working when most of the activities like cards, chess, marbles, and so on were occurring.

Pak Akbar, on the other hand, was a devout Muslim. After returning home from work at 3 p.m. he spent most of his spare time in religious activities. For example, he often helped out at the afternoon religious studies for children held at the local mosque. He also regularly prayed there for the dusk and evening prayers, and often he would stay and chat to others after the dusk prayer until the evening prayer. In addition to this, Pak Akbar regularly attended Thursday evening *pengajian* (gatherings where certain verses of the *Al-Qur'an* would be recited and interpreted), and on Saturday and Sunday mornings he would often go to study with a local Islamic religious leader. Hence, Pak Akbar's religious activities meant that he had few opportunities to interact with other members of this ward.

What the discussion thus far suggests is that while signs pointing to age and status as categories of personhood don't seem to figure in linguistic sign exchange, there appears to be a link between ward members' **trajectories of socialization** and their habitual patterns of linguistic sign exchange. This mirrors the practice found in intra-ethnic interaction in Ward 8, where those who interacted on a daily basis and for extended periods tended to exchange NJ, while those who had less occasion to interact tended to exchange KJ. These practices contrast markedly with the type of asymmetrical exchanges found in school textbooks. That men who habitually interacted exchanged NJ also suggests that early readings of male and female patterns of linguistic exchange amongst Javanese in Ward 8 may not necessarily be gender-related. In the following section we will see that histories of interaction also tend to figure heavily in linguistic sign exchanges in inter-ethnic interactions.

9.3 Inter-ethnic talk in a card game

In this section I explore linguistic sign exchange between those who report being Javanese and non-Javanese, and in interactions where both participants are non-Javanese. We will see that in interactions among particular participants who share a long history of interaction there is a tendency to exchange linguistic signs that are stereotypically associated with NJ. My extracts of talk are all taken from the same card game discussed in Section 9.1.

Extract 9.4 represents an interaction between Pak Abdul* from Sulawesi and Pak Madi, a Javanese born and raised in Semarang. Leading up to this particular interaction Mas Budi had just won the previous hand and Pak Madi had done badly. Pak Abdul*, considered a good card-player by other members of the

ward, is goading Pak Madi to pick up from the down-turned deck, knowing full well that he has the card Pak Madi is looking for.

Extract 9.4 Inter-ethnic talk among age mates

Pak Abdul*		
1	>***keduk pak*> *keduk'*** =	***Pick up*** Mr.[Madi], ***pick up***.
Pak Madi		
2	= nanti	**Just** wait **a moment first**.
3	**ndhisik waé::** =	
Pak Abdul*		
4	= ***keduk keduk*** pak	***Pick up***, ***pick up*** Mr. Madi, ***pick***
5	madi +***keduk keduk keduk kok***	***up***, ***pick up***, ***pick up***, ***gee why why***
6	***lo:h*+ *lo::h'*** (.5)	[did you throw that card away]!
Pak Madi		
7	**wis ben *lah*'** =	[It's] **already too late**.
Pak Abdul*		
8	= **maksudé piyé**	**What do you mean** [by] (???)
9	{ (???) ***keduk*** (laughs)	***picking up*** [that?] (laughs)
Pak Madi		
10	{***lah iya*' *e::h***=	***Yeah***. ***Eh***.
Pak Abdul*		
11	= ***asem aman*** **sik *ok***	***What a bummer*** [for you], [I was]
12	***asé ok asem*** (said while laughing)	***playing it safe*** **first** [by holding the]
13	(3.0)	***ace heh*** [that you needed], ***what a***
		bummer.
Pak Madi		
14	nunggu **siji thok iki**' (2.3)	**I** [was] waiting for **just one** [more card].
Pak Abdul*		
15	***#anu#*** {***tak*** **nggolèk iki *ok'***	***Eh***, ***I*** [was] **looking for this *heh***.
Pak Madi		
16	{**iki nggolèk siji menéh**	**I** [was] **looking for one more**. **I**
17	**kih'** (.9) **#nggolèk *as* siji néh ki#**	[was] **looking for one more** ace.
18	(3.7)	

As can be seen above, the talk is largely in NJ. Where Indonesian does occur (line 14), it is within an intonation unit and thus represents an instance of **sign alternation as the medium**. As with intra-ethnic talk in this ward, most of the tokens were NJ. As found in the previous section, neither participant finds the use of NJ or ambiguous forms as noticeable, and they orient to each others' usage. That is to say, none of them commented on it as strange here (or elsewhere). It should also be noted that most of the NJ forms used have Indonesian equivalents, which these participants knew. Thus, their usage here was not due to a lack of ability in Indonesian.

This pattern of exchange was common amongst other participants in this card game and included similar types of self-reference and second person address as found in intra-ethnic talk, as can be found in the following extract (9.5). In

this interaction Pak Liman, a Javanese born and raised in Semarang, interacted with Pak Sudiman*, who is a Sundanese from Sumadang in West Java. This conversation occurred about forty minutes into the recording and is preceded by the end of another hand, which Pak Liman lost.

Extract 9.5 Inter-ethnic talk, self reference and second person address

Pak Sudiman*		
1	**nek mau *ngeduk buwanganmu***	**If** [you] **wanted to *put down and**
2	**wolu:**'=	***pick up others' cards***, [then] ***you*** [should have] ***thrown out*** **the eight**.
Pak Liman		
3	**= ora iso: mau >kudu**	**No** [I] **couldn't earlier**. **In fact**, ***I***
4	***buwang aku***'> =	***should have thrown out*** [cards].
Pak Sudiman*		
5	**= wolu**	***Yes***, **the eight should have been**
6	**buwangané *he::m***' =	**thrown out**.
Pak Liman		
7	**= *oh* mau**' =	***Oh*** **earlier**?
Pak Sudiman*		
8	=	
9	***heeh***	***Yeah***.

In addition to illustrating NJ usage inter-ethnically, the above interaction also shows that terms of self-reference and second person address (e.g. *mu* "you" on line 1 and *aku* "I" on line 4) are ratified. As with the previous interaction, most of the NJ forms have Indonesian equivalents, which participants knew. This rules out an inability to conduct talk in Indonesian. Before looking at wider patterns of linguistic sign exchange within this ward, I want to look at two striking examples of sign exchange. In these two examples both participants report being non-Javanese.

Extract 9.6 represents an interaction between Pak Abdul* and Pak Sudiman* that occurred in the card game described in the previous extracts. Pak Sudiman* was in his early 40s and had come to Semarang some twenty years earlier after his uncle had got him work as a driver at a local government pharmaceutical factory. He was married to a local Javanese from Semarang, and they had lived in this ward since it had been developed some eight years earlier. This interaction occurred just after Pak Sudiman* arrived at Pak Abdul's house and at the same time that Pak Liman was being relentlessly teased by Mas Budi about losing the last hand and the last game. Here Pak Abdul*, after urging Pak Liman (albeit tongue in cheek) not to take the comments of others seriously, then proceeded to tease him by inviting Pak Sudiman* to give Pak Liman a hand to win the game. (The joke here is that Pak Sudiman* is known to be an even unluckier and less skillful player than Pak Liman.)

Extract 9.6 Non-Javanese talk in *ngoko* Javanese (1)

Pak Abdul*		
1	pak sud? (.8) {pak sud (.6) pak sud	Mr. Sud, Mr. Sud, Mr. Sud, you
2	**menangké ndhisik** pak (.9)	**win** [a hand] **for** [Mr. Liman] **before you do anything**.
Pak Sudiman*		
3	**abhot *toh*** (.1)	[The competition] **is hard**, ***right***?

As was the case in Pak Abdul's and Pak Sudiman's interactions with Javanese interlocutors, in this interaction and elsewhere they also used NJ between themselves, despite the fact that it is the first language of neither. As in previous extracts this usage was ratified and they also knew the Indonesian equivalents for the NJ forms. Thus, NJ usage was not due to an inability in Indonesian. Strangely enough, the exchange of NJ forms in this type of inter-ethnic interaction was not uncommon in this ward, as I frequently noted in my observations of other interactions that involved Pak Sudiman*, Pak Abdul*, and Mas Putu*, who we will meet in Extract 9.7.

In Extract 9.7 Pak Abdul* was now interacting with Mas Putu*, who identified himself as Balinese. Mas Putu* was in his early twenties and had moved to Central Java a few years earlier, first to search for work as a policeman but later to study seamanship. He had lived in this ward for a year and in the ward directly adjacent the year before. He had also lived in another city of Central Java with his sister for two years prior to that. This interaction is taken from the same card game as the previous extract. On this occasion Mas Putu* is just an onlooker, although on other occasions he would often be a player. This talk occurred just after a new game had started.

Extract 9.7 Non-Javanese talk in *ngoko* Javanese (2)

Pak Abdul*		
1	belum apa apa udah masuk	[I] haven't done anything yet [and
2	**sangono *loh***' (1.3) delapan puluh	I] already have **this much *heh***,
3	lima' =	eighty-five points.
Mas Putu*		
4	= +wah **iki**+ (.7) tinggal	Wow [look at] **this** [card], all that is
5	**nutupké iki** pak' (.3)	left [is] **to close this** Mr. [i.e. to declare that you've won].

While the above interaction has NJ forms, there are also more Indonesian forms than in interactions thus far represented. Even so, these utterances can be classified as **sign alternation as the medium** because alternation occurs within intonational units and also because such usage is ratified. As with previous interactions, participants also know the Indonesian forms. Thus, NJ usage could not be accounted for in terms of an inability in Indonesian.

The last four extracts give us some insights into the conduct of situated inter-ethnic talk in Ward 5, which in line with discussions from Chapter 4 onwards might be classified as **crossing**. However, thus far I have left open the question of why these non-Javanese use NJ forms instead of Indonesian ones when talking with their Javanese neighbors and when talking with other non-Javanese. This question seems especially interesting given that all participants were competent in Indonesian and thus could have conducted monolingual conversations in Indonesian had they chosen to do so. In comparing male talk in the two wards it also leaves open questions of why there is such a noticeable difference in patterns of inter-ethnic sign exchange. For example, in Chapter 8 I observed that Indonesian was commonly used inter-ethnically amongst males in Ward 8. In the next section I will look at broader patterns of inter-ethnic talk in Ward 5 to address these questions.

9.4 Habitual inter-ethnic linguistic sign exchanges and local histories

In this section I summarize my observations of inter-ethnic linguistic sign usage among the members of Ward 5, before then accounting for such usage by looking at participant backgrounds and histories of interaction. Table 9.2 summarizes the patterns of habitual linguistic sign exchange between each pair of interactants discussed thus far, including myself and the actual residents of Ward 5. As with Table 9.1, to find out who used which signs with whom simply read across from one name and down from the other to find a pair of speakers' sign exchange. Where two signs are indicated and separated by a diagonal line this does not mean that the pair asymmetrically exchanged signs, but rather indicates that this pair was increasingly using NJ in inter-ethnic interactions. As with Section 9.2, I also remind the reader that this data needs to be viewed as *indicative* of habitual patterns of linguistic sign exchange. This is so because my observations of sign exchange did not differentiate between the types of linguistic patterns associated with different participant footings and different conversational activities of the types described in Chapters 5 to 8.

Looking at Table 9.2, there are some striking differences in the use of NJ and Indonesian. For example, Javanese such as Pak Sudomo through to Pak Joni, and Pak Yon through to Pak Akbar, only ever use Indonesian with non-Javanese, while Javanese such as Pak Liman through to Mas Sigit, and Mas Sis through to Mas Jono, mainly use NJ with non-Javanese. Another especially interesting point to note concerning Table 9.2 is the fact that of the five non-Javanese, all but one of them (Pak Hamzah*) used NJ with each other on some occasions. Since all participants mentioned in Table 9.2 had a choice between the use of Indonesian or NJ, we cannot say that the use of one set of signs instead of the other was due to lack of choice, as was the case in Ward 8.

Table 9.2 *Habitual inter-ethnic exchanges among the males of Ward 5*

Pak Abdul*					
I/nj	Mas Putu*				
I/nj	I/nj	Pak Sudiman**			
I/nj	I/nj	I/nj	Me*		
I	I/nj	I	I	Pak Hamzah*	
nj	I/nj	nj	I/nj	I	Pak Liman
nj	nj	nj	I/nj	I	Pak Madi
nj	nj	nj	I/nj	I	Mas Budi
nj	nj	nj	I/nj	I	Mas Heru
nj	nj	nj	I/nj	I	Mas Pras
nj	nj	nj	I/nj	I	Mas Sigit
I	I	I	I	I	Pak Sudomo
I	I	I	I	I	Pak Surono
I	I	I	I	I	Pak Subagio
I	I	I	I	I	Pak Ali
I	I	I	I	I	Pak Joni
I/nj	I	nj	I	I	Pak Subroto
I	I	I	I	I	Pak Yon
I	I	I	I	I	Pak Tikno
I	I	I	I	I	Pak Akbar
nj	nj	nj	nj	I/nj	Mas Sis
nj	nj	nj	nj	I/nj	Mas Yono
nj	nj	nj	nj	I/nj	Mas Jono

As with Section 9.2, we can also consider whether these habitual exchanges related to participants' **trajectories of socialization** in this ward. The rest of this section investigates this question by looking at histories of interaction among members of the ward. Starting with the daily activities of the pairs of speakers who preferred NJ in inter-ethnic encounters, I can note that Pak Abdul* was unemployed and had been since his arrival in Semarang eighteen months earlier. Pak Abdul* noted that he wasn't particularly concerned about continuing to look for a job because of his spouse's employment as a relatively high-paid public servant. Instead, he stayed at home and looked after their three-year-old son, often with the assistance of Mas Budi, after about 10 a.m. Pak Abdul's eldest child was at school and after school he would be left to play with the other children of the ward. Pak Abdul* did not have many household chores either. This was so because his spouse paid someone to do their washing

and ironing, and because they did little cooking themselves, preferring to buy food from food vendors who periodically went by.

Hence, after about 10 a.m. Pak Abdul* had little to do. This time was mostly spent with the Javanese he exchanged NJ with, including pensioners like Pak Liman, those who were semi-employed like Pak Madi, or university students who spent much of their day at home (e.g. Mas Budi, Mas Pras, Mas Sigit and Mas Putu*). On my frequent visits to this ward during this time of day these people could be found playing cards, marbles or video games, watching a sports competition on television, listening to music, karaoke singing, or just chatting. Except for marbles, which was played in the empty lot beside Pak Abdul's house, most of these activities were carried out inside Pak Abdul's house.

Before other members of the ward started arriving home from work at around 2 to 3 p.m. in the afternoon, Pak Abdul* and Mas Putu* would either take a nap and get up at around 3.30 p.m. or 4 p.m., or would continue playing cards if they were already involved in a game. If they were playing cards, other members of the ward, such as Pak Madi, Pak Sudiman*, and Mas Heru would come to either watch or play. If either Pak Abdul* or Mas Putu* took a nap, then upon getting up they would often become involved in a game of volleyball with other members of the ward until shortly before dusk, especially with those Javanese who they exchanged NJ with, such as Pak Subroto, Mas Heru, Mas Sis, Mas Jono, and Mas Yono. Others, like Pak Liman, Pak Sudiman*, and Mas Budi, would come and watch. After *Isya* (the Islamic prayer time occurring at around 7 p.m.) non-Javanese such as Pak Abdul*, Pak Sudiman*, and Mas Putu* could more often than not be found chatting or playing cards or chess at the guard post with the same Javanese that they interacted with earlier on in the day. Many other members of this ward often joined them, and there were regularly more than fifteen people sitting around and interacting.

During the lead up to Independence Day celebrations, Pak Abdul*, Mas Putu* and I would often be playing badminton with Mas Heru, Mas Sis, and a number of other youth from this ward. Others, like Pak Sudiman*, Pak Liman, Pak Madi, Mas Budi, and his two older brothers, would come along and watch. On weekends, these non-Javanese involved themselves in similar activities, that is, cards, volleyball, badminton, chess, and so on with the same Javanese that they frequently interacted with during weekdays. For example, on Saturday nights Pak Abdul's house was often the hub of activity, with many other members of the ward coming to either play cards or watch a game in progress. In summary, much of these non-Javanese's daily social life involved interactions with the Javanese with whom they exchanged NJ forms.

Turning to the daily activities of Pak Hamzah*, the one non-Javanese who usually used Indonesian in his interactions with Javanese members of the ward, I note that he rarely interacted with them, or any other members of the ward for

that matter, except during the formalized ward activities like meetings, working bees, and so on. I should be quick to add that this was not because he did not wish to, but rather because of his work and study commitments, which took up most of his time (he was upgrading his diploma to a degree).

In looking at the other pairs of people who used Indonesian we can see that longer working hours also prevented many of the other Javanese of this ward interacting with their non-Javanese neighbors. For example, Pak Sudomo noted his job frequently required him to come home late, leaving him tired and less inclined to socialize in the evenings. As can be seen in Table 9.2, his interactions with non-Javanese members like Pak Abdul*, Pak Sudiman*, Pak Hamzah*, and Mas Putu* were in Indonesian.

What the discussion thus far suggests is that there is a link between ward members' **trajectories of socialization** and their linguistic sign exchanges. For example, it would appear that in inter-ethnic encounters, those who interact on a daily basis tend to use NJ in interaction, while those who have less occasion to interact tend to use Indonesian. We might say that for those non-Javanese who tended toward the use of NJ, the social organization found in this ward and their daily social life gave them many opportunities to learn NJ (although this by itself was not the reason for its use in inter-ethnic interactions). Pak Abdul* represents an especially striking example of this considering that he had only arrived in Semarang a year-and-a-half earlier and yet through frequent interaction had already became a heavy user of NJ. Thus, we can actually suggest that **adequation** is a more appropriate description of these participants' linguistic sign exchanges than **crossing**, which was offered as a category at the end of Section 9.3.

Before concluding this section, I want to briefly summarize how participants who exchanged NJ talked about language and social relations within this ward. Mas Putu*, Pak Abdul*, and Pak Sudiman* all noted, for example, that they were *cé'es* "close friends" with ward members, such as Mas Budi, Mas Heru and Pak Madi. (Others in this ward talked of these six people as *cé'es* or *kental* "thick.") While the term *cé'es* didn't seem to be used in Ward 8, these participants explained that it meant the same thing as being *akrab* "close" and that the more often one interacted with someone the more *cé'es* they became. They went on to say, that the more *cé'es* one was with their Javanese neighbors the higher likelihood, or need, to use Javanese in interaction with these people. To continually use Indonesian inter-ethnically in interactions with a Javanese one has frequent occasion to interact with would be interpreted as *kagok* "strange/not appropriate," or worse, *nggak ramah* "not friendly." In other words, using Indonesian would not be an accurate reflection of the close relationships that had been established. In this sense, we can see clear interdiscursive links with perduring **semiotic registers** that link Indonesian usage with stranger and outsider (e.g. Section 2.6).

9.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I focused upon two types of **language ideologies**. The first related to interaction amongst Javanese, especially the types of asymmetrical sign exchanges found in school texts described in Section 2.3. I showed that, contrary to such **language ideologies**, categories of personhood relating to age and status do not figure in the linguistic sign exchanges found in interaction amongst the Javanese in Ward 5. These patterns of linguistic sign exchange mirrored those found in Ward 8. In accounting for differences between ideology and practice, I argued that participants' daily social lives within this ward led to members taking part in particular participant constellations and that this figured in the patterns of linguistic sign exchange described in Sections 9.1 and 9.2.

The second language ideology I examined related to language use in inter-ethnic interactions, where the Indonesian constitution, language policy, language educators, and school curriculum all seem to imagine that such interactions will be characterized by Indonesian usage (e.g. Alisjahbana, 1976; Anwar, 1980; Nababan, 1985, 1991; Abas, 1987; Lowenberg, 1990, 1992; Dardjowidjojo, 1998). In Sections 9.3 and 9.4 I showed that there was again a large difference between this ideology and practice, with inter-ethnic interactions frequently being conducted using NJ forms. On the one hand, I showed that the unintended inflection of the processes of **enregisterment** sketched out in Section 2.4 – namely, Indonesian as an index of the ethnic other – appeared to hold within this ward. At the same time, ideologies about **LOTI** (in this case *ngoko* Javanese) and its indexical relationships with ethnicity and intimacy seemed to have been recontextualized to do intimacy work inter-ethnically through participants' engagement in the practice of **adequation**. In accounting for these practices, I again pointed to the importance of participants' **trajectories of socialization** within this ward.

In addressing these two issues my broader aim was to provide further input into one of the main questions this book set out to answer: how do people go about establishing and maintaining social relations in settings characterized by diversity and transience? In addressing this question I noted that the cases of Javanese usage in interactions where neither participants were Javanese (Sections 9.3 and 9.4) strengthened arguments set out in Chapters 5 and 6. In particular, I argued that in this ward at least, being initially linguistically different gives way to sameness as participants engage in **adequation** as part of their broader mutual endeavors. Finally, in the initial part of the chapter I noted that patterns of linguistic sign exchange in Ward 8 appeared to be gendered. However, as I have shown here in relation to Ward 5, men who have intimate histories of interaction also regularly exchange NJ inter-ethnically and intra-ethnically. Thus, such patterns are not necessarily gender-related.

10 Conclusions

10.0 Introduction

This book has attempted to fill a gap in scholarship relating to inter-ethnic relations in Indonesia, which has hitherto been primarily historical in nature and not concerned with talk or the local spaces in which it occurs. In particular, I explored how talk figures in mediating social relations in two wards where diversity was the norm and where distinctions between who are newcomers and who are hosts tended to change regularly. I was especially interested in exploring how systems of expectations about behavior were talked about and learned in these wards. Drawing on the insights of Agha (2007), Wortham (2006) and Wenger (1998), I argued that signs from different spatial-temporal settings not only represented resources to be used to identify non-present others and those doing this social identification, but that they also simultaneously figured in the construction of expectations for social conduct within this ward. For example, I noted that in socially identifying someone's behavior as not appropriate in this ward, participants temporally co-constructed what is considered as normal, appropriate and moral behavior.

The multidisciplinary nature of what constitutes current linguistic anthropology/ethnography (e.g. Errington, 1998b; Duranti, 2003; Rampton, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008) found me not only using multiple methods but also exploring the relationships between the data gathered using these methods. For example, I used work in the area of semiotics, media and cultural studies, and language socialization to theorize and then explore the interdiscursive links between signs from mass-mediated sources, local conversations, and ethnographic observations. By taking a comparative view of the frequent practice of **adequation** found in these wards I am also able to offer some general conclusions about identities and talk in these transient settings. In particular, and in answer to the main question posed at the start of the book, I want to point out that in these transient settings identities as part of systems of expectations are negotiated across speech situations. While such identities draw upon widely held beliefs about language–identity relationships, they are not determined by them. This sits in contrast to essentialist interpretations by pointing to the lack

of any long-term fixed relationships between linguistic forms and identity, such as ethnicity. While such insights are not new to those working within a conversation analytic (CA) paradigm (e.g. Auer, 1995; Sebba & Wootton, 1998), a temporal approach allows us to explore whether, to what extent, and why certain identities solidify.

In exploring interdiscursive relationships between signs from perduring **semiotic registers** (**SRs**) and their local recontextualizations in a multilingual setting, I was also able to point out how this approach might be of more general utility in bridging dominant paradigms to code choice and codeswitching. In what follows I provide a brief recapitulation of the key evidence and findings of each chapter before then bringing them together in Section 10.2.

10.1 A brief recapitulation

Chapter 2 started by introducing my interpretation of Agha's (2007) work on processes of **semiotic register** (**SR**) formation and how this relates to categories of personhood and social relations. I then used this as a framework to re-interpret a wide range of scholarship, focusing primarily on institutional representations of personhood, social relations, and language in Indonesia, especially those relating to ethnicity, schooling, television and Indonesian-Chinese. In doing so, I also provided the broader socio-historical context to this study. In particular, I sketched out four **semiotic registers** (**SRs**). The first **SR** I posited (**SR1**) contained within its constellation of signs Indonesian, talk about the world, authority, education, knowledge, and the stranger or ethnic other. The second (**SR2**) contained signs, such as forms and/or utterances from **language other than Indonesian** (**LOTI**), region, intimacy, family, ethnicity, talk about personal life worlds, and so on. The third (**SR3**) contained **adequation** in its constellation of signs, and as such appeared to denaturalize **SR2** in terms of language–identity relationships. The fourth (**SR4**) related to the association of Chinese personhood with particular signs, including social space, consumption practices, deviance, et cetera.

In fleshing out these emergent **SRs**, I noted that this type of approach to language–identity could also provide one component of a robust approach to codeswitching. In particular, I noted that attention to processes of **semiotic register** formation provide a more transparent account of how identity becomes indexed with particular languages. I then went on to note that while these **SRs** and their associated signs represented resources to be recontextualized in situated interaction, we need to see whether, to what extent, how, and why these signs were recontextualized.

Drawing upon Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1994, 1990a), Giddens (1984) and Wenger (1998), Chapter 3 started to lay the groundwork for addressing "why" questions. This was done by looking at what brought members of these two

wards into these wards in the first place, the spatial and architectural features of the ward, members' economic and social backgrounds and how all of this figured in members' **trajectories of socialization** within these two wards. In this analysis, I focused on an area of the mundane. While the mundane is seen as a critical element of understanding why people use language in the way they do, it is often left out of ethnographically oriented sociolinguistic research (but for exceptions see Sweetland, 2002). I argued that the Indonesian state had helped create living spaces based upon economic ability, resulting in the construction of Ward 8 and Ward 5. Quite unsurprisingly, each ward had rather different ways of going about looking after ward infrastructure and so on. This translated into broad patterns of infrequent interaction among the males of Ward 8 and frequent interaction among the females of Ward 8 and among the males of Ward 5. In focusing on work patterns and so on, we found that these different patterns were also mirrored in patterns of socializing and socialization (in a language socialization sense).

In Chapter 4 I went on to introduce the members of each of these wards by way of looking at their repertoires of linguistic signs, as a way of establishing whether and to what extent members actually had choices in choosing between signs stereotypically associated with Indonesian and those stereotypically associated with Javanese. In doing so, I drew upon current work on language alternation, **crossing** and **adequation**, to help in the classification of linguistic sign exchanges that occurred in these wards. I argued that many members of these two wards, including many of the non-Javanese migrants, knew and used linguistic signs stereotypically associated with *ngoko* Javanese (NJ), *krámá* Javanese (KJ) and Indonesian.

There were, of course, non-Javanese migrants who appeared to know only linguistic signs associated with Indonesian. While this meant that they had little choice but to use Indonesian inter-ethnically, I also examined to what extent this may have reflected their **trajectories of socialization** within each ward. In general, I argued that ward members' trajectories within these wards helped generate reasons to learn linguistic signs associated with Javanese. To support this argument, in Chapters 5 and 6 I followed one newcomer's sign usage with reference to her interactions in a series of routine monthly female meetings in Ward 8. In doing so, I showed how this related to the emergence of expectations for social conduct within this ward.

More specifically, in Chapter 5 I looked at how insider and outsider identities emerged in one meeting through narratives and how this was achieved with recourse to signs from perduring **SRs**, especially **SR1**, **SR2** and **SR3** described in Chapter 2. In doing so, I showed how conversational narratives in this meeting were simultaneously linked with the joint construction of expectations for social conduct within this ward. I suggested that when viewed together with sign usage such conversational work produces **locally emerging semiotic**

registers (**LESRs**). I focused on just two, namely **LESR1** and **LESR2**. I went on to argue that these **LESRs** represent the systems of trust, expectation or *habitus* which are the focus of some social theorists (e.g. Goffman, 1974, 1983; Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984, 1990).

While the conversational activities in this meeting and the resultant **LESRs** could also be characterized as potential lessons for newcomers, without recourse to observation of particular newcomers' subsequent interactions it would be hard to establish if learning takes place and with it a solidification of the signs and identities associated with these **LESRs**. Chapter 6 took up this question by exploring whether and to what extent signs from these two **LESRs** were appropriated, recontextualized and ratified across speech situations.

Before looking at Chapter 6, however, I should also note that my approach to talk in Chapter 5 also provided an example of how notions of **semiotic register** and **semiotic encounter** can bring together identity-based and ethnomethodological approaches to language alternation. In particular, a focus on perduring **semiotic registers** fits closely with – while adding to and making more explicit – the type of data used in accounting for language alternation in identity-based approaches to codeswitching (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993). The idea that signs, as part of any language ideology, have a history and are appropriable in talk then allows us to clarify links between this idea and ethnomethodological approaches to language alternation (e.g. Gafaranga, 2001; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002).

This clarification was achieved by making links between perduring signs and their situated usage a focus of accounts of language alternation. Rather than moving away from ethnomethodological concerns, I proposed that this concern actually mirrors recent but more general treatments of ethnomethodology. For example, Francis and Hester (2004) note the need for long-term fieldwork in settings that are "un-native" to the researcher, in order to gain insights into the import of signs. The approach I have used allows me to move towards a transparent documentation of insights into the import of signs (e.g. through the work described in Chapter 2), while also acknowledging that variability and ambiguity are properties of any sign and setting.

Chapter 6 adds to the above approach to codeswitching by taking a developmental perspective – requiring ethnographic work – which traces one newcomer's **semiotic encounters** across speech situations, while also placing it within broader patterns of interactional linguistic sign exchange within Ward 8. For example, while Chapter 5 explored how widely circulating signs where appropriated and recontextualized in a **semiotic encounter**, in Chapter 6 I used ethnography to follow chains of **semiotic encounters**. In doing so, this also provided insights into how the meaning of language alternation is both changed and reified across time and space among particular participant constellations.

More specifically, in Chapter 6 I argued that a non-Javanese newcomer learned to use certain signs, especially those stereotypically associated with *ngoko* Javanese (NJ), despite not needing to do so, given her competence in Indonesian and the widely held ideology that Indonesian is the appropriate medium for such interactions (e.g. Chapter 2). We also saw that such sign usage seemed to be ratified by other participants. I went on to note that while the act of appropriation helped in the reproduction of recognized signs and **LESR2**, the situated recontextualization of such signs may have also changed this **SR**. For example, over time this newcomer had become one of the persons associated with this **SR**. We were thus also able to see how this newcomer moved from being a **crosser** earlier in her stay in this ward to someone who increasingly engaged in **adequation**. While this mirrored the language alternation practices of other non-Javanese in this ward, this newcomer and other non-Javanese didn't engage in **adequation** with every member of the ward, rather, only with those they frequently interacted with as a result of sharing common interests.

I argued that such language alternation practices increasingly made irrelevant the type of language–ethnicity associations noted in Chapter 2. Indeed, I went on to suggest that in this setting **adequation** seems to be emerging as normative practices amongst a particular constellation of participants in this transient setting. When considered together with other co-occurring signs – such as attendance at meetings, paying of dues, and so on – we were provided with further insights into how systems of trust or expectation emerge in a setting characterized by diversity and transience.

Chapters 7 and 8 moved my focus toward the males of Ward 8. Taking inspiration from notions about "communicative economy" coined by Hymes (1974) and developed in work in language socialization (e.g. Ochs, 1988), I was especially interested in showing how ethnography could be used to explore how local circumstances figure in processes of **social identification** and local **semiotic register** formation. My data on talk was again that found in routine ward meetings. In looking at this data, I argued that the positioning of male ward members and the categories of personhood that emerged from this process were made possible through this talk's co-occurrence with other events and circumstances, which provided resources for ward members' **social identification** projects. I focused particularly on how interdiscursive relationships between perduring **SRs**, local events, and circumstances figured in the positioning of one non-present person as Chinese and deviant.

For example, I started to explore how the topic of the ward's financial position appeared to be one element that enabled the (re)establishment of "common knowledge" about persons and events within this ward. This type of conversational activity in turn enabled the co-construction and (re)production of categories of personhood, and with it, expectations for social conduct and associated **locally emerging semiotic registers**, **LESR5** and **LESR6**. This

process and the resultant **LESRs** were again seen as representative of emergent systems of trust in a setting that was even more heterogeneous than that found amongst the women of this ward, because males irregularly attended meetings. I traced the emergence of these **LESRs** in Chapter 8, where I continued to explore interdiscursive relationships between these **LESRs**, local circumstances and events, and talk in a subsequent ward meeting.

Part of my empirical focus in Chapter 8 was an area that has hitherto relied upon historical scholarship, which has assumed rather than demonstrated that links exist between perduring signs about Chineseness in Indonesia and their uptake in local spaces. In particular, I explored how categories of personhood established in the December meeting (Chapter 7) became primary resources for the social identification of one non-present ward member in the January meeting. As all of these categories from the December meeting were recontextualized, they were also linked together in a way that figured in the eventual explicit ethnicization of this person as Chinese and deviant. In doing so, I also highlighted how this process figured in the further (re)production of the two **LESRs** discussed in Chapter 7.

In examining the signs that made up one of these **LESRs**, **LESR5**, I pointed out how linguistic sign usage among the adult male heads of household contrasted with usage among their female counterparts. For example, one striking difference was linguistic sign usage in inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic interactions where *krámá* Javanese (KJ) was the most common sign exchanged between Javanese males and Indonesian was the most common sign exchanged inter-ethnically. In contrast, their female counterparts tended to exchange *ngoko* Javanese (NJ) both inter-ethnically and intra-ethnically. While this observation invites a reading of gender-based differences, my discussion of another nearby ward brought such a reading into question (e.g. Chapter 9).

The main concern of Chapter 9, however, was to explore the links between two perduring **language ideologies** and situated practice. The first **language ideology** related to the asymmetrical exchange of linguistic signs in interactions amongst Javanese where there were differences in participants' status and age. I showed that, contrary to such **language ideologies**, categories of personhood relating to age and status do not figure in the linguistic sign exchanges found in interaction amongst the Javanese in Ward 5. In accounting for differences between ideology and practice, I argued that participants' daily social lives within this ward produced particular trajectories amongst certain participant constellations and that this figured in the patterns of linguistic sign exchange.

The second **language ideology** I examined related to language use in inter-ethnic interactions, where the Indonesian constitution, language policy, language educators, and school curriculum all seem to imagine that such interactions will be characterized by Indonesian usage. I showed that there was again a large difference between this ideology and practice, with inter-ethnic

interactions frequently being conducted using NJ forms. In particular, we saw NJ usage in interactions between those reporting to be Javanese and non-Javanese and even in interactions where both participants were non-Javanese. In accounting for these practices, I again pointed to the importance of participants' **trajectories of socialization** within this ward.

In addressing these two issues my broader aim was to provide further input into one of the main questions this book set out to answer: how do people go about establishing and maintaining social relations in a setting characterized by diversity and transience? In addressing this question, I noted that the cases of Javanese usage in interactions where neither of the participants were Javanese strengthened arguments set out in Chapters 5 and 6. In particular, I argued that in this ward at least, being initially linguistically different gives way to sameness as participants engage in **adequation** as part of their broader mutual endeavors in this ward. In turn this highlighted differences between ideologies that linked **languages other than Indonesian** with ethnicity and actual situated interaction.

10.2 Approaching migration, migrants and interaction in a transient setting

Migration as part of an enduring human condition has increasingly become the focus of scholars in the humanities and social sciences. While recent work in the area continues to critique essentialist portrayals of migrants and migration (e.g. Collins *et al.*, 2000; Brettell, 2003; Vertovec, 2007), such critiques rarely focus on the role of conversation amongst migrants in their new homes. Apart from a few notable exceptions (e.g. Gumperz, 1982a; Campbell & Roberts, 2007), what we generally find is either studies focusing on the inequalities brought about by migrants' differing levels of linguistic abilities (e.g. Blommaert *et al.*, 2005a, 2005b), the vilification of migrants (Collins *et al.*, 2000; Poynting *et al.*, 2004), studies of codeswitching in such contact contexts (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993; Oesch-Serra, 1998; Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Auer, 2000) or anthropological studies of migrants, migration and identity. Typically, while this last group of studies uses diverse types of data, they do not use or focus upon conversational data (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Baumann, 1996; Tsuda, 1999; Linger, 2001; Roth, 2002; Brettell, 2003). In this book I have tried to fill this gap by bringing together these diverse approaches to migrants, migration, identity and language.

With recourse to a reconceptualization of the relationship between language and identity offered by recent linguistic anthropological work on semiotics and **enregisterment** which sees change as the normal outcome of any interaction (e.g. Wortham, 2006; Agha, 2007), I have not only demonstrated how people in such contact situations go about doing "togetherness in difference"

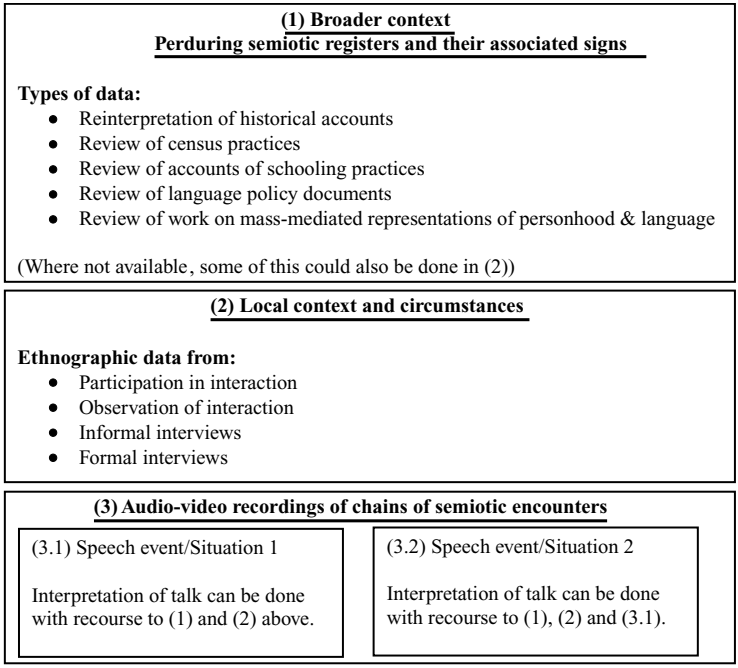

Diagram 10.1 Approaching migration and/or codeswitching

(e.g. Werbner, 1997; Ang, 2003), but I have tried to outline a way in which this might be investigated, where **semiotic encounters** become part of the focus of studies of migration or studies of codeswitching. This seems especially relevant where the researcher does not have any privileged insights into the import of signs. Diagram 10.1 summarizes this approach. In briefly commenting on this diagram I need to point out that it is not hierarchical, that is, "(1) Broader context" does not need to be done first. In the last box there are a series of **semiotic encounters** where the numeral "1" indicates a starting point.

Notes

NOTES ON CHAPTER 2

1 At several times during the years 1949–1950 various contending parties held that Indonesia was – or was not (yet) – independent (e.g. Ricklefs, 1981).
2 Of course, this is a simplistic view of such relationships, given that there may be many languages spoken in a household because of marriages between those from different regions, the presence of care-givers from different language backgrounds, and so on.
3 "Lewat Si Doel Anak Sekolahan, misi yang ingin saya sampaikan pada orang-orang tua Betawi yang masih kolot itu, bahwa sekolah penting demi mengangkat harkat dan martabat keluarga. Saya ingin memperkenalkan kepada Indonesia, bahwa inilah kultur masyarakat Betawi yang sebenarnya (Tabloid Jelita/Dv/Idh, [nd])."

[What I wanted to convey via *Si Doel Anak Sekolahan* to *Betawi* elders, who were still traditional in outlook, is that schooling is important for raising family welfare and prosperity. I wanted to show Indonesians that this was the true authentic culture of the Betawi.] (Author's translation)
4 In contrast to the other serials described, this series was very popular, at least according to a web-based source (Wikipedia, [nd]-b), the producer (Tabloid Jelita/Dv/Idh, [nd]), and according to some of my neighbors in Semarang, where I recorded this show while carrying out fieldwork. In web searches carried out in June 2007 I was also still able to find commentaries about this series and the characters portrayed (e.g. Can/Nic/Arn/Xar, 2003). Of particular interest are comments made by one connoisseur of Betawi culture concerning the inauthenticity of the variety of Betawi used by one of the main characters, Mandra, and his sister Leala (see the excerpt and translation below). While there is certainly a need to do more research, these comments provide some evidence of the explicit written meta-discourses that figure in processes of **enregisterment**.

"Soal wilayah kelahiran itu, Ardan menerangkan, misalnya, tokoh Mandra dalam cerita Si Doel Anak Sekolahan, dipasangkan menjadi adik Aminah Cendrakasih. Komentar Ardan, 'Ini kurang tepat, karena Mandra itu Betawi pinggiran, sedangkan Aminah Betawi tengah, logat bahasanya sudah beda. Kalau suami-istri mungkin tepat ya . . . ' (e.g. Can/Nic/Arn/Xar, 2003)"

[Regarding the place of birth, Ardan comments that the figure of Mandra is portrayed as Aminah Cenrdakasih's [Leala] sibling in the story Si Doel Anak Sekolah. Ardan notes "This is not appropriate because Mandra is a Betawi from the outskirts while

Aminah is from the central Betawi area, their accents are different. If they were [portrayed] as husband and wife maybe it would be OK . . ."] (Author's translation)

NOTES ON CHAPTER 3

1 Gumperz's (1982a, 1982b) work on interactional communicative competence also seems to have anticipated much of Wenger's argument.
2 More generally, a number of members of Ward 8 saw my constant socializing with the males of Ward 5 as quite strange, with some suggesting I protect my status by avoiding interaction with members of Ward 5.
3 There were a number of different types of monetary contributions. For the men of Ward 5, these included: (a) the monthly *iuran RT*, "the compulsory payment of monies used for carrying out routine maintenance of ward infrastructure"; (b) *sumbangan*, which were also compulsory but not monthly and were required when outlays for major capital works could not be covered by the monthly *iuran* payments (e.g. paving of the ward's street, the cementing of drains, the construction of a guard post, or for general beautification work).

For the women of this ward the different types of *iuran* included: (c) monthly *iuran social* "social contributions" of around 1000 rupiah, which were used to pay for things like garbage collection, education about birth control methods, immunization for children, medical/hospital expenses of sick ward members; (d) irregular *iuran*, which were payments towards Independence Day and religious celebrations; (e) monthly *arisan*, which was a system where one female from every household contributed around 1000 rupiah per month. At each *arisan*, one member's name will be drawn out of a bottle and they will receive the total amount of this *arisan*, that is to say, 1000 rupiah times the number of households in the ward. Once every two years or so each member will get back this lump sum, which amounts to the total of their contributions during this period. The attractiveness of this system for many was its random allocation of these funds, which meant that a person may receive the lump sum well before they had made contributions that totaled this amount. (f) Contributions to the ward's savings account. This is slightly different from (e), in that here it is like a bank and each member contributes some money. By doing so, they are eligible to borrow the total amount of savings and pay this back with interest over a set period of time. Each year at *Idul Fitri* all borrowed moneys must be paid back. Following this, members receive back their contributions with the interest obtained from them and others who borrowed the money from this savings system in the past year. It should be noted here that this system together with the *iuran*, *arisan* and *Dasa Wisma* were generally compulsory and were regulated at the *Rukun Warga* (*RW*) neighborhood level on a monthly basis. This meant that the *Ibu* RT (the wife of the elected male head of the ward) attended the monthly neighborhood meetings and among other things reported on savings levels in her ward. (g) Payment and participation in *Dasa Wisma*: At each *arisan* all members make payments of around 1000 rupiah. During the following month, four female members of the ward are chosen to give an exhibition. This money is then given to them to offset their costs. These four people then have to work together and create an exhibition of something that they are good at doing. For example, if the four chosen were good at sewing, cooking or making *batik* "wax and dye painting of cloth," they would get together and prepare a mini exhibition for

the rest of the female members of their ward. At the exhibition these people may sell their goods to any of the female ward members who are interested in buying them. These exhibitions are held at a ward member's house and each month a new group and a new location is chosen to give an exhibition.

4 Because I present such a detailed account of participants I have also changed other information to protect their identity. This includes information about their place of origin. In doing so, however, I have kept the distinction between those who have migrated from outside of Central Java and those who have moved from areas within Central Java.

NOTE ON CHAPTER 5

1 Such information was passed down from the central government to provincial level government (*Pemerintah Daerah*, or *PEMDA*), and through provincial governments to lower administrative bodies, starting with regency/city (*kebupaten/kota*) and them moving to district (*kecematan*), sub-district (*kelurahan*), neighborhood (*rukun warga*) and finally ward (*rukun tetangga*, or *RT*) levels respectively (see e.g. Diagram 1.1).

NOTE ON CHAPTER 8

1 At the end of *Idul Fitri*, the fasting month, in order to finish the cleansing process, all Moslems who carried out the fast are required to donate two-and-a-half kilos of uncooked rice to the poor, or the equivalent in money. This donation is called *Fitra. Zakat*, on the other hand, is the two-and-a-half percent of one's yearly income that the poor are entitled to.

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Language, Migration, and Identity

While much scholarship has been devoted to the interplay between language, identity, and social relationships, we know less about how this plays out interactionally in diverse transient settings. Based on research in Indonesia, this book examines how talk plays an important role in mediating social relations in two urban spaces where linguistic and cultural diversity is the norm and where distinctions between newcomers and old-timers change regularly. How do people who do not share expectations about how they should behave build new expectations through participating in conversation? Starting from a view of language– society dynamics as enregisterment, Zane Goebel synthesizes a wide range of humanities scholarship with contemporary linguistic anthropology to explore how language is used in this contact setting to build and present identities, expectations, and social relations. It will be welcomed by researchers and students working in the fields of linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, the anthropology of migration, and Asian studies.

ZANE GOEBEL is Senior Lecturer in Indonesian Studies at La Trobe University, Australia.

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